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A GRAMMAR  
OF THE  
DIALECT OF OLDHAM  
(LANCASHIRE).

89D  
S 334

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DISSERTATION

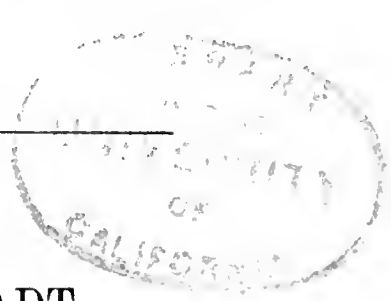
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KARL G. SCHILLING  
AUS ALTRINCHAM (ENGLAND).

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DARMSTADT.

G. OTTO'S HOF-BUCHDRUCKEREI.  
1906.



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Referent: Dr. H o r n.

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## P r e f a c e.

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It is intended in the present work to add one more to the list of scientific grammars of English Dialects. The general scheme is the same as that followed by Professor Wright in his Grammar of the Windhill Dialect except that I have, like Hargreaves in his Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington, made Middle English and not Old English the starting point of my investigations. — It is to Professor Horn of Giessen that I am indebted for the idea of writing the grammar as also for his advice and suggestions on every occasion. — I also take this opportunity to thank Mr. Dronsfield of Oldham for his valuable help in the way of practical information concerning the folk-speech of which he is such an admirable exponent.

As the English Dialect Grammar of Dr. J. Wright did not appear until the autumn of 1905, when my grammar was already completed, I was unable to make use of it.

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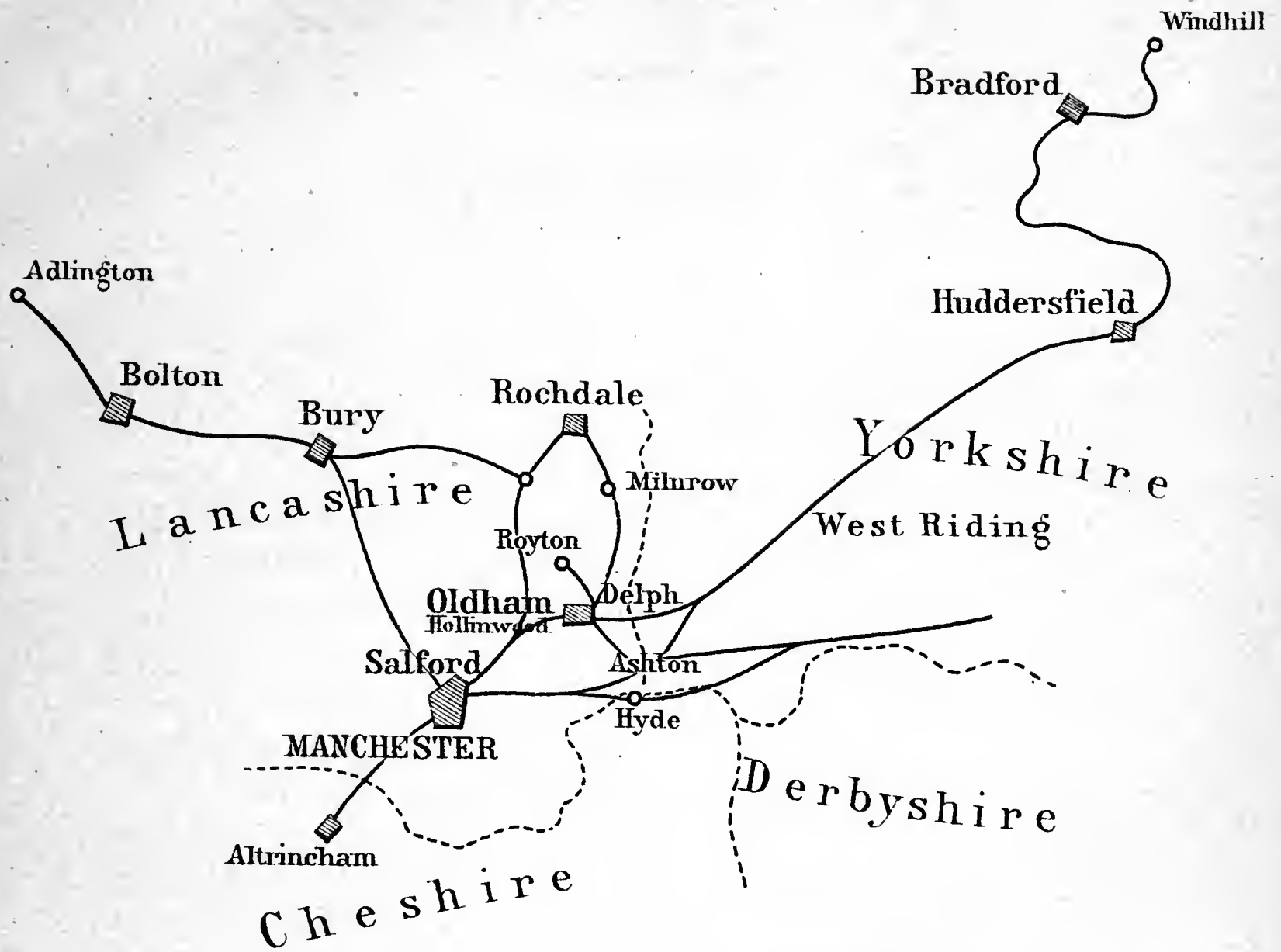
## Other Abbreviations.

AFr.	= Anglo-French (Norman-French).
Fr.	= French.
Germ.	= Germanic.
L. (Lat.)	= Latin.
lit.	= literary.
LME.	= Late Middle English.
ME.	= Middle English.
NE.	= New (Literary) English.
OD.	= Oldham Dialect.
OE.	= Old English.
OFr.	= Old French.

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## Misprints.

pp. 89 & 102, read *fornit(š)ər* = furniture.



*County Boundaries* - - - -

*Railways* —

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The Municipal Borough of Oldham, the dialect of which I have attempted in the following pages to discuss, is situated in S. E. Lancashire and therefore falls within District 21 as marked in Ellis' E. E. P., vol V. A glance at the preceding map will show that only a few miles separate it from the adjoining county of Yorkshire (West Riding) the nearest large town in that county being Huddersfield, nor is it far from the N. E. extremity of Cheshire and the N. W. corner of Derbyshire, the strip of land round Staleybridge (Cheshire) being included by Ellis in District 21.

It may be objected that a town so large as Oldham (population over 100,000) is hardly suited for the purpose of showing a distinct variety of dialect in anything like a pure state, but a reference to Ellis (E. E. P., V. p. 322) will show that he has already referred to Oldham as possessing a particular form of speech distinct from the other towns in the immediate neighbourhood.

To say, of course, that the dialect of Oldham is pure would be as untrue as it would be of any other dialect still spoken in Great Britain, but certain causes have worked and are still working which have great influence in preserving the popular speech from too rapid decay. The vast and sudden increase of the population consequent upon the spread of the cotton manufacture at the beginning of last century was certainly a cause for alarm to the lovers of the ancient folk-speech of Lancashire, and it was thought at the time that it would never hold its own against such an invasion

of foreign elements, but though a large number of new words were introduced they did not succeed in ousting the native forms, rather the reverse, the foreigners learnt the speech of the natives and became assimilated with them in every way, a process which is still going on in the case of all fresh settlers at the present day. — For this there are particular reasons which I will try to make clear. For the entire district of S. E. Lancashire there is practically only one staple industry, namely that of cotton spinning. Other manufactures are carried on, it is true, but the vast majority of the population is employed in the cotton mills. Moreover not only is male but female labour employed, the cotton operatives are recruited indiscriminately from both sexes. This is very important for the preservation of the dialect, for not only are the male members of the family constantly hearing and speaking the vernacular, but the mothers of the present and future generations also, and no impressions, whether linguistic or otherwise, are so difficult to eradicate as those received in infancy. Add to this that not only are all the foremen in the mills local men who have been bred and born among the dialect-speaking population, but even the wealthy mill-owners are, as often as not, men who have risen from the ranks and, in every case almost, born in the locality and using the dialect as their habitual medium of conversation. The older generation indeed not only habitually address their hands in the dialect but even speak it among themselves unless strangers are present.

It might be supposed, however, that the spread of education would make itself felt to the detriment of the folk-speech. The younger generation can most of them express themselves in literary English if they choose i. e. at the time at which they leave school to go to the mill, but as they are allowed to work as half-timers between the ages of 12 and 14 (i. e. to spend half the day, either the morning or the afternoon, during these two years in the mill) after which they hear hardly anything but dialect at work and in the home, we cannot wonder at the slow progress made by the literary language in the cotton district.

The present generation of young men and women in Oldham as well as the other manufacturing towns in Lancashire are, it is true, becoming gradually more reticent in the use of the popular speech in the presence of strangers; any attempt, however, to "talk fine", as speaking literary English is called, among themselves is greeted by the older hands as a mark of snobbishness.

Moreover, side by side with this recent gradual extension of the literary language, we have an undercurrent of conservatism in the form of Literary Clubs and Societies whose object it is to preserve the Folk-speech in its pristine vigour. The efforts of these societies are aided by the magnificent library of really first-class dialect literature at their disposal from which to select pieces for public readings or recitals and thus to keep alive the love of the old speech among the people. — Indeed I think I may say without fear of contradiction that there is hardly any corner of Europe which has produced in comparatively recent years such a phalanx of poetry and prose writers in the dialect as S. E. Lancashire. So great, indeed, is the fame of some of them (Edwin Waugh and Ben Brierley for instance) that their works are not only read and enjoyed in their native county but in other parts of England sufficiently remote from the cotton district.

There is yet another factor which tends to preserve the dialects of S. E. Lancashire and that is the exclusiveness of the people. This exclusiveness not only extends to the natives of other counties (notably Yorkshire), but, to a less degree, to all strangers not belonging to the same town and village. A man from Oldham will be laughed at in Hollinwood (even tho' the distance between the two places is less than a mile and a continuous street connects them), for the use of certain forms peculiar to his own dialect (*nobat* [Oldham] *nobə* [Hollinwood] = only [not but]). The same thing is noticeable in Oldham or Rochdale people away from home. They cling together whenever possible and should they come across a fellow-townsmen in their travels they hail him with as much effusion as one Frenchman would hail another in a foreign country.

Despite this tenacious clinging to the folk-speech, however, the dialect is undergoing a gradual change more especially in the matter of vocabulary. A mere glance at the very full glossary of South Lancashire words edited by Mr F. E. Taylor (Manchester, 1901) will prove this at once. Mr Taylor has marked the obsolete words with an asterisk and many words so marked are still to be found in the writings of Brierley and Waugh, the latter being barely 50 years old. There are, however, other changes taking place of more vital importance. These affect both vocabulary and phonology. With regard to the former must be mentioned more especially the gradual filtering in of Yorkshire forms, more particularly from the West Riding, as might be expected owing to its proximity to Oldham. Such words I have carefully noted in their proper places. The vocabulary has been, however, much more strongly influenced by the neighbouring Lancashire towns of Rochdale (9 miles from Oldham) and Ashton (about 3 miles away). Among Rochdale words one of the commonest is *wēiš* = "wash" which is found side by side with the Oldham *weš* (*waš*). Among Ashton words is a whole group, namely those ending in the literary language in *-ing* which in the Oldham dialect all appear without a final *ŋ*-sound (e. g. *šilin* = 'shilling' &c), but in Ashton have changed *ŋ* into *ŋk* (e. g. *šilink*).

Between the dialect of Oldham proper and that of the outlying villages which the growing town is gradually absorbing there is, of course, a process of assimilation going on, one or more variants of the same word being often found side by side. Another factor tending to the mixture of the dialects is the spread of dialect literature from one Lancashire town to another. This literature mostly takes the form of little penny books in the vernacular which are eagerly bought and read by the mill-hands. In this manner a large number of Bolton words have found their way into the Rochdale and Oldham dialects despite the fact that Bolton is the centre of a colliery district and that the colliers and the mill-hands have little intercourse in the ordinary way. Perhaps it will cause surprise to those unacquainted with the locality to

hear that despite the proximity of Manchester (the distance between Oldham and Manchester is only 6 miles), the Oldham dialect has been hardly effected at all by the neighbourhood of the great city. The mill-hands employed in the Manchester cotton mills are drawn from a large number of neighbouring cotton towns and form a very unstable part of the population, constantly coming and going.

Moreover the mill-owners of Manchester live far out in the suburbs and do not come into contact with their hands nearly so often as those living in Oldham and the smaller cotton towns, so that one of the chief factors for the preservation of a strong and healthy dialect is missing.

Phonologically the most noticeable recent change is perhaps the new pronunciation of such literary English words as *there*, *where*, *stairs* &c, which should be pronounced in the pure dialect as *ḏiə<sup>r</sup>*, *wiə<sup>r</sup>*, *stiə<sup>r</sup>z* but are now often heard as *də<sup>r</sup>*, *wə<sup>r</sup>*, *stə<sup>r</sup>z*. Mere weak sentence stress will not explain this pronunciation as it is extended to words (such as *stə<sup>r</sup>z*) which could hardly be weakly stressed under any circumstances.

There now remains to consider the composition of the vocabulary of the Oldham Dialect from the etymological point of view. Few words will suffice here. The vast majority of the words is, as might be supposed, of English origin. The Scandinavian element is not nearly so important as in the neighbouring dialects of Yorkshire where many Scandinavian forms have survived owing to the long Danish settlement. The Celtic element is a little more noticeable in Lancashire than in Yorkshire but, as in the rest of England proper, forms only a very small item in the vocabulary. The French element consists mostly of such words as are found in Middle English, tho' a few have crept in later under the influence of the literary language.

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# PART I.

## PHONOLOGY.

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### CHAPTER I.

## SOUNDS OF THE DIALECT.

### I. THE VOWELS.

§ 1. The Oldham Dialect contains the following vowels:

a) Short Vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ʊ*, *ə*.

b) Long Vowels: *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ō*, *ū*, *ā*.

c) Diphthongs: *ai*, *ēi*, *īə*, *au*, *ūə*, *ɛu*.  
*ai*, *ēə*, *oi*, *ōə*, *ui*, *ie*.

A short description of the Oldham Vowels follows. *ɛ* *o* represent the open sounds, *e*, *o* represent the closed sounds.

#### a) Short Vowels.

*a* (mid-back-wide) like *a* in German "Mann", e. g. *lad* = lad, *arə* = arrow, *brast* = burst, *watš* = watch.

*e* (mid-front-wide) as in standard English *men*, *help* &c., e. g. *neb* = peak of a man's cap, *neš* = tender, *wentš* = a girl.

*i* (high-front-wide) as in standard English *bit*, e. g. *brid* = brid, *sitš* = such, *sikst* = sixth.

*o* (mid-back-wide-round) like *o* in the German „Stock“, e. g. *frozn* = frozen, *mony* = many.



*u* (high-back-wide-round) like in standard English *put*, e. g. *puns* = to kick, *punəʀ* = thunder.

*u*. This is the same sound as Hargreaves denotes by the symbol. It comes nearer *o* than *u* (cp. Hargreaves p. 4), e. g. *kum* = come, *wus* = worse.

*ə* (mid-mixed-narrow) as *e* in German „Gäbe“, e. g. *arə* = arrow, *oləz* = always, *nētđəʀ* = nature.

### b) Long Vowels.

*ā* (mid-back-wide) like *a* in German “Haar” occurs mostly before *r*, e. g. *ām* = to mock, *ārk* = chest, *āsk* = a water-newt.

Note: Hargreaves gives this *ā* before *r* the value “ä” and his *ā* as only occurring where we have *ai* in the Oldham Dialect.

*ē* (mid-front-narrow) as in German “See”, e. g. *fēbri* = gooseberry, *gēt* = road, way, *lēik* = to play.

*ī* (high-front-narrow) like the *i* in German “Biene”, e. g. *drī* = tedious, *grīt* = to cry, *nīt* = night.

*ō* (low-back-narrow-round) as *aw* in standard English “saw”, e. g. *kōv* = calf, *fōs* = cunning, *ōf* = elf, idiot.

*ō*) mid-back-narrow-round) like German “so”, e. g. *bō* = ball, *krōp* = crept, *lōp* = leapt.

*ū* (high-back-narrow-round) like *u* in German “du”, e. g. *abūn* = above, more than, *brū* = hill, *fū* = fool.

*ə* (low-back-narrow), e. g. *kəʀsn* = to christen, *wəʀtš* = to work, *jəʀp-bobz* = tufts of heather.

### c) Diphthongs

*ai* = *a* + *ī*. The *i* is high-front-narrow and is long. In the Oldham Dialect there are many words where the vowel sound fluctuates between *ai* and *ai*. In the following the *ai* sound is the more common: *abaid* = to suffer, *flait* = to scold, quarrel, *naifl* = a delicacy, *paik* = to pick, choose.

*ei* = *e* + *ī*. As above the *i* is high-front-narrow and is long, e. g. *feit* = fight, *fleiš* = flesh, *weiš* (or *weš*) = wash.

*īə*, e. g. *əfiərt* = afraid, *bīəs* = beasts, *pīərtš* = perch.

*au*. This sound (or the nearest approximation to it) is represented by Hargreaves as *ou*. He says it is a more open sound than Sweet's *ou* and lies between his *ou* + *au*. In the O. D. it lies distinctly nearer *au*, e. g. *aud* = old, *kaud* = cold, *haud* = hold, *maudiwōrp* = mole.

*ūə*, e. g. *duər* = door, *əfuər* = before, *muər* = more, *kuət* (*kwot*) = coat.

*eu*, e. g. *reund* = round, *bəut* = without, *euər* = our, *teun* = town.

Note: In neighbouring dialects this *eu* appears as *ā*.

*ēə*, e. g. *bēər* = bear, *swēər* = swear.

*oi*, e. g. *əpoint* = appoint, *loin* = loin, *soil* = soil.

*qə*, e. g. *bifqər* = before, *fqər* = four.

*ui*, e. g. *ruin* = ruin, *suit* = suet.

*ié*. It only occurs in the word *piétər* = theatre.

*əi* has the same sound as the French *eui* in *feuille*, e. g. *bəil* = boil, *wəild* = wild, *tšəild* = child.

## II. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 2. The Oldham Dialect contains the following consonants:

*b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *p̄*, *d̄*, *v*, *w*, *z*, *ž*.

*b* (lip-stop-voice). It occurs initially, medially and finally, e. g. *blud* = blood, *abit* = habit, *rub* = rub.

*d* (gum-stop-voice). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *dautər* = daughter, *medsin* = medicine, *kaud* = cold.

Note: Hargreaves has also a symbol *d̄* to represent the sound of *d* before *r* or in a syllable containing *r*. In the Oldham Dialect this *d̄* is unnecessary, as under the circumstances *d* becomes either *d̄d̄* or, more commonly *d*.

*f* (lip-teeth-open-breath). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *fəind* find, *ofər* = offer, *wəif* = wife.

*g* (back-stop-voice). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *gam* = fun, *figər* = figure, *leg* = leg.

*j* (front-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *y* in *you*. It only occurs initially, e. g. *jalə* = yellow, *jit* = yet.

Note: The glide sound of *j* mentioned by Hargreaves as occurring occasionally in the Adlington Dialect is not found in



the Oldham Dialect *k* (back-stop-breath). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *kauð* = cold, *akəʀ* = acre, *tak* = take.

*l* (gum-side-voice) resembling a German *l* more than a London English one. It occurs in all positions, but is syllabic only in unaccented syllables, e. g. *levl* = level, *luv* = love, *milk* = milk, *kil* = kill. Of these the second *l* in *levl* is syllabic.

*m* (lip-nasal-voice), e. g. *mon* = man, *simpl* = simple, *kum* = come.

*n* (gum-nasal-voice). It occurs in all positions, e. g.: *nīdl* = needle, *untəʀ* = hunter, *brazen* = brazen, impertinent. Vocalic *n* occurs in unaccented syllables only (mostly finally), e. g. *brazn* = brazen, *frozn* = frozen, *brokn* = broken.

*ŋ* (back-nasal-voice). It is only found in the combinations *ŋg* and *ŋk* when it has the same value as lit. Engl. *ng* and *nk* (in Finger), e. g. *siŋg* = sing, *stiŋk* = stink.

*p* (lip-stop-breath). It occurs initially, medially and finally, e. g. *peund* = pound, *api* = happy, *lomp* = lamp.

*r*. This sound is described by Hargreaves as gum-open-voice. Initially and medially between vowels it has the same sound as lit. Engl. *r* in the same position; finally, or medially the preceding vowel becomes what is described by Lloyd as "coronal vowel" [cp. Lloyd's "Northern English" § 100 ff.], e. g. *reum* = room, *krīp* = creep, *beri* = berry, *kəʀs* = curse, *swiəʀ* = swear. In the last two examples the vowel is "coronal".

*s* (blade-open-breath) like *s* in lit. Engl. *sit*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *sārtin* = certain, *bēsɳ* = basin, *šips* = ships.

*š* (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. Engl. *sh* in *shall*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *šadə* = shadow, *bušl* = bushel, *fīš* = fish

*t* (gum-stop-breath). It occurs in all positions, e. g. *teun* = town, *batl* = battle, *fəit* = fight.

Note: Hargreaves has also a symbol *ṭ* but like his *ḍ* it is not necessary in the Oldham dialect being perfally well represented either by *tā* or *p*.

*þ* (teeth-open-breath) like *th* in lit. Engl. *thick*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *þunər* = thunder, *elþi* = healthy, *meuþ* = mouth.

*ð* (teeth-open-voice) like *th* in lit. Engl. *this*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *ðis* = this, *faðin* = farthing, *brīð* = breathe.

*v* (lip-teeth-open voice) like the *v* in lit. Eng. *vane*. It occurs in all positions, e. g. *veri* = very, *waivz* (*waivz*) = wives, *luv* = love.

*w* (lip-back-open-voice) like Engl. *w* in *water*. It occurs initially and medially, e. g. *wain* = wine, *wīš* = wish, *əwēi* = away.

*z* (blade-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *z* in *freeze*. It is rare initially, commoner medially and finally, e. g. *zeundz!* = zounds!, *jezi* = easy, *tšīz* = cheese.

*ž* (blade-point-open-voice) like lit. Engl. *s* in *pleasure*. It mostly occurs in combination with *d* as *dž*, e. g. *džain* = join, *indžin* = engine, *edž* = edge.

Note: Hargreaves has also a sound *z* (p. 7) but in the Oldham Dialect it is indistinguishable from final *z*.

# THE SOUNDS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

#### SECTION I.

#### THE VOWELS CONSIDERED SINGLY.

#### SHORT VOWELS.

#### *a.*

##### 1. Spontaneous Development.

##### A. English Sources.

##### § 3.

##### 1. ME. *a* appears in the Oldham Dialect as *a*.

##### a) From OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*:

##### 1) From OE. *a*:

ME.	OD.	NE.
ankel	<i>aŋkel</i>	ankle
arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
ax(e)	<i>aks</i>	axe
bannen	<i>ban</i>	to curse
castél	<i>kastl</i>	castle
crabbe	<i>krab</i>	crab
krakien	<i>krak</i>	a gossiping conversa- tion
fan	<i>fan</i>	fan
gamen	<i>gam</i>	game.

##### 2) From OE. *æ*:

ME.	OD.	NE.
akern	<i>atšærn</i>	acorn
after	<i>afðær</i>	after
bath	<i>baþ</i>	bath
blak	<i>blak</i>	black
bras	<i>bras</i>	brass, money
barst, brast	<i>brast</i>	burst
bac	<i>bak</i>	back
cappe	<i>kap</i>	cap
daft	<i>daft</i>	silly
fast	<i>fast</i>	fast
hat	<i>at</i>	hat

ME.	OD.	NE.
lappe	<i>lap</i>	lap (sb)
masse	<i>mas</i>	mass
mast	<i>mast</i>	mast
rafter	<i>rafðar</i>	rafter

3) From OE. *ea*:

galwes	<i>galæsis</i>	braces
narowe	<i>nuræ</i>	narrow
narwe		

b) ME. *a* from OE. *ǣ*:

ascen,	<i>ax</i>	to ask
axen		
attercoppe	<i>atðar'krop</i>	spider
(y)clad	<i>klad</i>	clad
lammasse	<i>lamæs</i>	lammas

ME.	OD.	NE.
c) ME. <i>a</i> from OE. <i>ǣ</i> :		

ani	<i>ani</i>	any
fat(t)	<i>fat</i>	fat
laddre	<i>laddar</i>	ladder
laste	<i>last</i>	last (sb)
mad	<i>mad</i>	mad

d) ME. *a* from OE. *ēa*:

chapman	<i>tšap</i>	chap
	<i>tšapmon</i>	a purchaser
chaffare	<i>tšafar</i>	to haggle
laþer	<i>laðar</i>	lather
	<i>(loðar)</i>	

B. Scandinavian Sources.

ME. *a* from. Scandinavian *a* (o):

farand	<i>farant(li)</i>	hand-somely
gabbe	<i>gab</i>	impudence
gad	<i>gad</i>	loiter
haplice	<i>aplinz</i>	haply

cratchinge	<i>kratšinz</i>	refuse of melted lead
cang	<i>kaŋk</i> <i>(koŋk)</i>	a gossiping conversation
clacke	<i>klak</i>	chatter
ragge	<i>rag</i>	rag

C. Celtic Sources.

ME. *a* from Celtic *a*:

brat	<i>brat</i>	coarse apron
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cammid	<i>kamd</i>	cross-tempered
ladde	<i>lad</i>	lad
lasse	<i>las</i>	lass.

D. French Sources.

ME. *a* < French *a* (*ā*).

a) French *a* in open syllables unaccented in O. F.

banere	<i>banar</i>	banner
barel	<i>barel</i>	barrel
bataille	<i>bat(e)l</i>	battle
carry	<i>kari</i>	kari
damage	<i>damidž</i>	damage
favour	<i>favar</i>	to resemble

gallon	<i>galən</i>	gallon
parische	<i>pariš</i>	parish
valeie	<i>vali</i>	valley
value		value

b) French *a* (*ā*) in closed syllables unaccented in O. F.

cacchen	<i>katš</i>	catch
champion	<i>tšampjən</i> <i>tšompjən</i>	champion

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
fasoun	<i>fašn</i>	fashion	mantel	<i>mantl</i>	} mantle
lanterne	<i>lanþærn</i>	lantern	passion	<i>pašn</i>	

### E. Uncertain Sources.

dab	<i>dab</i>	a blow	bađen	<i>baþ</i>	bathe
crank	<i>kraŋki</i>	{ mentally deranged	brasen	<i>brazn</i>	impudent
band	<i>bant</i>		hasel	<i>hazl</i>	hazel
		string.	maken	<i>mak</i>	make
			schame	<i>šam</i>	shame
			taken	<i>tak</i>	take
			waken	<i>waken</i>	waken
			favour	<i>favær</i>	to resemble
aker	<i>akær</i>	acre	labo(u)r	<i>labær</i>	labour
babi	<i>babi</i>	babi	naperōn	<i>apærn</i>	apron
baken	<i>bak</i>	bake	paper	<i>papær</i>	paper.

Note: OE. and OFr. *a* (*æ*, *ea*) have not been lengthened in the following:

### 2. Development in Combination.

#### § 4.

##### 1) ME. *a* + (NE.) final *l* = *ō*.

al	<i>ō</i>	all
al + rēdi	<i>ōredi</i>	already
alweies	<i>ōlez</i>	always
bal	<i>bō</i>	ball
callen	<i>kō</i>	call
fallen	<i>fō</i>	fall
smal	<i>smō</i>	small.

Note: The above also occur with *ō*.

##### 2) *a* + *l* before *f*, *m*, *k*, *s*, *t* = *ō*.

alf	<i>ōf</i>	elf
calf	<i>kōv</i>	calf
half	<i>ōv</i> ( <i>ōf</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	half.
halm	<i>(h)ōm</i>	handle of an axe
palm	<i>pōm</i>	palm

balk	<i>bōk</i>	a log of timber
calke	<i>kōkærz</i>	turned down por- tions of a horseshoe
talk-en	<i>tōk</i>	talk
fals	<i>fōs</i>	sly. cunning
faltren	<i>fōtær</i>	to falter
halter	<i>(h)ōtær</i>	halter
malt	<i>mōt</i>	malt
salt	<i>sōt</i>	salt
walten	<i>wōt</i>	to upset.

##### 3) ME. *a* (*o*) before *m*, *n*, *ŋ* = *o* except when *w* precedes.

bank	<i>bonk</i>	bank
cang	<i>konk</i>	a gossiping conversa- tion

<sup>1</sup> The Rochdale form *ēf* is also heard, cp also Hargreaves, p. 26, 30, and Horn, Untersuchungen p. 18.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cann	<i>kon</i>	can
conny	<i>koni</i>	brave, fine
candel	<i>kondel</i>	candle
chance (chaunce)	<i>tsons</i>	chance
gander	<i>gonər</i> ( <i>gonḍər</i> )	gander
grand	<i>gron(d)</i>	grand
grant (graunt)	<i>gront</i>	grant
hamme	<i>om</i>	ham
hamer	<i>omər</i>	hammer
hamme + schaklin	<i>omšakl</i>	to hinder
hand	<i>ond (ont)</i>	hand
man	<i>mon</i>	man
mani	<i>moni</i>	many
planke	<i>plonk</i>	plank
ram	<i>rom</i>	ram
ranc	<i>ronk</i>	rank
spannen	<i>spon</i>	span
standen	<i>stond</i>	stand
trampelen	<i>trompl</i>	trample.

4) ME *a* + *š* = *aiš*.

dasshe	<i>duiš</i>	dash
lasshe	<i>laiš</i>	lash
paschen	<i>paiš</i>	to pour down
rasshe	<i>raiš</i>	rash

ME.	OD.	NE.
slaschen	<i>slaiš</i>	slash
?	<i>smaiš</i> <sup>1)</sup>	smash
wasshe	<i>waiš</i> ( <i>weš</i> ) <sup>2)</sup>	wash.

Note: ME. *asche* (pl. *asches*) has not become *aiš* as might be expected, but *es*.

5) ME. *a* + final *r* = *ər*.

dar	<i>dər</i>	dare
far	<i>fər</i>	far
gar-en	<i>gər</i>	to force, compel
war(re)	<i>wər</i>	worse.

Note 1: *w* + ME. *a* = *wa* except before *l* + consonant.

swan	<i>swan</i>	swan
wace	<i>waken</i>	waken
wacche	<i>watš</i>	watch
war	<i>war</i>	war
warm	<i>warṃ</i>	warm.

Note 2: ME. *a* + final *s* has sometimes become *ā*, but only in certain words e. g. *dlās* = glass, *lās* = lass, *ās* = ass. But these words are also found with *ā*.

<sup>1</sup> Skeat "Etymological Dictionary" derives this word from a doubtful Swedish Dialect word *smacke*.

<sup>2</sup> The Rochdale form *weiš* (ex ME. *wesschen*?) is also found.

*e.*

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 5.

ME. *e* (from OE. *e*, *eo*) mostly appears as *e* in the Oldham Dialect.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
			fremede	<i>frem</i>	not akim
			helfe	<i>elv</i>	handle of a spade
	<i>beldār</i>	} to cry out	kempe	<i>kempi</i>	a man fond of fighting
	<i>belder</i>		lêke	<i>lek</i>	to leak
betere	<i>betdār</i>	better	leng(er)	<i>lengār</i>	longer
clemmen	<i>klem</i>	to starve	neb	<i>neb</i>	peak of a man's cap
delf	<i>delf</i>	a stone quarry	nesshe	<i>neš</i>	tender, delicate
delfen	<i>delv.</i>	to dig	weft	<i>weft</i>	anything woven
O. E. edisc	<i>ediš</i>	} second crop of meadow grass	welden	<i>weld</i>	to wield
	<i>editš</i>		wellen	<i>wel</i>	to boil
O. E. exen	<i>exen</i>	oxen	wenchel	<i>wentš</i>	a girl.
ellerne	} <i>eller</i>	alder-tree			
ellarne					

B. Scandinavian Sources.

ME. <i>e</i> = Scandinavian <i>e</i> :			eggen	<i>eg-on</i>	to incite
degen	<i>dek</i>	} to sprinkle	felawe	<i>feli</i>	fellow
	<i>deg</i>		helder	<i>eldār</i>	} rather.
		to cut off		<i>eldār</i>	

C. French Sources.

a) ME. <i>e</i> = French <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> <i>ẽ</i> (accented):			fente	<i>fent</i>	{ remnant of cloth minder (in a mill).
ar(r)este	<i>arest</i>	arrest	tenten	<i>tenter</i>	
comence	<i>komens</i>	commence	b) ME. <i>e</i> = French <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> <i>ẽ</i> (secondary accent):		
defenden	<i>difend</i>	defend	aventure	<i>ventdər</i>	venture
effect	<i>ifekt</i>	effect	beverage	<i>bebridz</i>	beverage
excepcioun	<i>eksepʃən</i>	exception			
election	<i>lekʃən</i>	election			

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
medlen	<i>mel</i> <i>meril</i>	to meddle a game	neveu	<i>nevi</i>	nephew
mellen			trestel	<i>trest</i>	a large stool
merril					

#### D. Unknown Sources.

elsin	<i>elsin</i>	awl	heter	<i>hetər</i>	keen, eager (of dogs)
fetten (make ready)	<i>fettle</i>	Sb. condition	(quick, rough)		
flecked		Vb. to mend	kebben (to contend)	<i>keb</i>	to lean against
gesc (N. E. D.)	<i>flekt</i>	spotted	plecke	<i>plek</i>	place
	<i>geš</i>	guess	slede	<i>sled</i>	sledge
			snekke	<i>snek</i>	latch of door
			tenten	<i>tent</i>	stretch.

#### 2. Development in Combination.

##### § 6.

1. ME. *e* + *r* = *ēr*,

*ər*, *ār*.

a) *ēr*:

berme	<i>bēr̃m</i>	barm
cerren	<i>kēr̃n</i>	churn
dernen	<i>dēr̃n</i>	to darn
ernest	<i>jēr̃nest</i> ( <i>jār̃nest</i> )	earnest
hert	<i>hēr̃t</i>	heart
hweper	<i>hur̃ēr̃</i>	whether
kerven	<i>kēr̃v</i> ( <i>kār̃v</i> )	carve
nerre	<i>nēr̃</i>	nearer.

b) *ər*:

gers	<i>gər̃s</i>	grass
gert	<i>gər̃t</i>	girt
herce	<i>hər̃st</i> <i>jər̃st</i>	hearse
perken	<i>pər̃k</i>	perch
terrible	<i>tər̃abl</i>	terrible.

c) *ār*:

#### 1. English Words.

bere-tun	<i>bār̃ten</i>	barn
derk	<i>dār̃k</i>	blind
ernest	<i>jār̃nest</i> ( <i>jēr̃nest</i> )	earnest
herre	<i>hār̃</i>	higher
herke	<i>hār̃k</i>	to listen
ker	<i>kār̃</i>	low-lying marsh
kerven	<i>kār̃v</i> ( <i>kēr̃v</i> )	carve
lernen	<i>lār̃n</i>	learn, teach
serke	<i>sār̃k</i>	shirt
sker	<i>skār̃</i>	a rocky place
sterten	<i>stār̃t</i>	start
sterven	<i>stār̃v</i>	starve
per̃f	<i>pār̃f</i> ( <i>-kēk</i> )	cake of oatmeal, butter and treacle
werk	<i>wār̃k</i>	work (Subst.)
werlde	<i>wār̃ld</i>	world.



## 2. French Words.

ME.	OD.	NE.
certain	<i>sārtin</i>	certain
concern	<i>konsār̃n</i>	concern
conversen	<i>konvār̃s</i>	converse
converten	<i>konvārt</i>	convert
desert	<i>dizārt</i>	desert
deserven	<i>dizār̃v</i>	deserve
determine	<i>ditār̃min</i>	determine
diversion	<i>divār̃šən</i>	diversion
merci	<i>mār̃si</i>	mercy
merchant(a)	<i>mār̃tšənt</i>	merchant
merveil	<i>mār̃vil</i>	marvel
nerfe	<i>nār̃vz</i>	nerves
preserven	<i>prisār̃v</i>	preserve
serche	<i>sār̃ts</i>	search
sermon	<i>sār̃mən</i>	sermon
serpent	<i>sār̃pənt</i>	serpent
servant	<i>sār̃vənt</i>	servant
serven	<i>sār̃v</i>	serve.

2. ME. *e* sometimes appears as *ēi* before *š*, but this is an im-

portation from the neighbouring dialect of Rochdale, cp. Hargreaves p. 29. 3. a, b.

ME.	OD.	NE.
flesc	<i>flēiš</i> [ <i>flaiš</i> ]	flesh, meat
nesshe	<i>nēiš</i> [ <i>neš</i> ]	tender
weschen	<i>wēiš</i> [ <i>waiš</i> , wash <i>weš</i> ]	

Note: The OE. word “Grendel” of “Beowulf” is still met in the Lancashire Dialects (including Oldham) = a waterdemon to frighten children. It appears in the form Grindy low (grindilau), cp. F. E. Taylor “Folkspeech of S. Lancs” and Nodal and Milner “Glossary of the Lanc. Dialect” p. 169.

## *i.*

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

#### § 7.

ME. *i* usually appears as *i*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *i*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blind	<i>blint</i>	blind
brid	<i>brid</i>	bird
brinnen	<i>brindl</i>	} to fly into a passion
child	( <i>up</i> ) <i>tšilt</i> [ <i>tšəilt</i> ]	
cribbe	<i>krib</i>	pinfold
cwic	<i>wik</i>	alive, lively

ME.	OD.	NE.
drifen	<i>driv</i> [ <i>druv</i> , <i>đruv</i> ]	driven
finne	<i>finz</i>	fish-bones
gilte	<i>gilt</i>	young female pig
innewarde	<i>inər̃dz</i>	interior parts
kist	<i>kist</i>	chest
liggen	<i>lig</i>	lie down
likli	<i>likli</i>	likely

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
michel	<i>mitš</i>	much	b) ME. <i>i</i> = OE. <i>y</i> .		
sib	<i>sib</i>	akin	briggē	<i>bridž</i>	bridge
singen	<i>siŋg</i>	a musical festival	bisi	<i>bizi</i>	busy
sixte	<i>sikst</i>	sixth	chist	<i>tšist</i>	chest
spitel	<i>spitl</i>	a baker's shovel	dine	<i>din</i>	noise
sipen	<i>sin</i>	since	dide	<i>did</i>	did
slinken	<i>sliŋk</i>	diseased	kilne	<i>kil</i>	kiln
slideren	<i>slidər</i>	meat	kissen	<i>kis</i>	kiss (vb.)
twinling	<i>twindlin</i>	slide	micele	<i>mikel</i>	size, bulk
pridde	<i>prid</i>	a twin	miche	<i>mitš</i>	much
wimplen	<i>wimpl</i>	third	milne	<i>mil</i>	mill
		to ripple as a brook	rigge	<i>ridžər</i>	part of harness
		hay put together before housing	rinele	<i>rindl</i>	a channel
windwunge	<i>winrō</i> <i>windrō</i>		rippen	<i>ripər</i>	a reckless fellow
windelstrē	<i>windelstrē</i>	coarse grass	OE. pl. ge-scyldru <sup>1</sup>	<i>šildər</i> <i>šildər</i> ( <i>šūdər</i> )	shoulder
winter	<i>winpər</i>	winter	swich	<i>sitš</i>	such
wiði	<i>wiðanz</i>	osiers, willows	(pinchen)	<i>pink</i>	think
			trindil	<i>trindl</i>	wheel of a wheel-barrow.

### B. Scandinavian Sources.

biggen	<i>big</i>	to build	giglot	<i>giglət</i>	{ a wanton girl
biker	<i>bikər</i>	small wooden tub	impen	<i>imp</i>	
blinken	<i>bliŋkər't</i>	blind of one eye	kippen	<i>kipər</i>	to rob
clinken	<i>kliŋk</i>	a blow	lic-	<i>likər</i>	amorous
dillen	<i>dil</i>	to lull	ling	<i>liŋg</i>	more likely
fisken + gig	<i>fizgig</i>	a flirting girl			{ cut and dried
flinder	{ <i>flindərz</i> <i>flindərz</i> }	fragments	(nigard)	<i>nigl</i>	{ heather
			schift	<i>šift</i>	{ to trifle
			skift	<i>skift</i>	{ haggle
			riften	<i>rift</i>	{ to move,
			riven	<i>rivn</i>	{ remove
gildre	<i>gildərz</i> <i>gilerz</i>	twisted hair for fishing lines			{ to belch
griskin	<i>griskin</i>	loin of pork			{ rent, ill-
gimbire	<i>gimər</i>	young female sheep	smidde	<i>smidi</i>	tempered
			spink	<i>spiŋk</i>	smithy
					chaffinch

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Anglia-Beiblatt XVI, 332.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
tippen	<i>tip, tipl</i>	to upset	wimbil	<i>wimbl</i>	quick, lively
tit	<i>tit(əʳ)</i>	soon(er)	wikir	<i>wikən</i>	{ mountain ash.

### C. French Sources.

ME <i>i</i> = Fr. <i>i</i> , <i>ī</i> (Principal or Secondary Accent).			prime + rose	<i>primrōz</i>	primrose
gilofre	<i>džilivəʳ</i>	gilly-flower	riban	<i>ribin</i>	ribbon
gimelot	<i>gimblət</i>	gimlet	sillable	<i>sinəbl</i>	syllable
gingebreed	<i>džindž- bred</i>	ginger- bread	simple	<i>simpl</i>	simple, humble
nifle	<i>nifl</i>	to be fas- tidions	sisoures	<i>sidəʳz</i>	scissors
pikin	<i>pik</i>	to push sharply	wisard	<i>wizəʳt</i>	wizard
pismire	<i>pisəmūeʳ</i>	ant	ficche	<i>fitš</i>	vetch.
pissen +	<i>pis-ə-bed</i>	dandelion	ME. <i>i</i> > OD. <i>e</i> .		
			sirupe	<i>serəp</i>	syrup
			spirit	<i>sperit</i>	spirit.

### D. ME. *i* from other Teutonic Sources.

chitte	<i>tšit</i>	a pert girl	hipping	<i>(h)iping- stūənz</i>	stepping- stones
crinklen	<i>kriŋkl</i>	to crease	kitelen	<i>kitl</i>	ticklish
drifte	<i>drift</i>	drove of cattle	lift	<i>lift</i>	left (opp. of "right")
glistren	<i>glistəʳ</i>	to shine	sissen	<i>siz</i>	to hiss.
grippen	<i>gripn</i>	clasped hands			

### E. Uncertain Sources.

crikke	<i>krik</i>	a painful strain	tikelen	<i>tik</i>	to touch
digge	<i>dig</i>	duck	titten	<i>tidəʳ-up</i>	rouse up
gingelinge	<i>džingəlz</i>	St. Antho- ny's fire	twiteren	<i>twitəʳ</i>	to tremble
grig	<i>grig</i>	a cricket	primlen	<i>primbl</i>	to tremble
nippe	<i>nip</i>	to snatch	pwitel	<i>pwitl</i>	a large knife
sind	<i>sind</i>	to rince in water	wippen +	<i>(h)wip- stāʳt</i>	an upstart
snizen	<i>snidž</i>	to curry favour	wisk	<i>(h)wisk- telt</i>	wanton
tikel	<i>tikal</i>	fastidious	wider	<i>widəʳ</i>	strong, lusty.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### §. 8.

1. ME. *i* (ü) before *r* = a)  $\check{r}$   
in closed syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bir (bür)	$b\check{r}$	velocity, force
birlen	$b\check{r}l$	to pour out
firre + bobbe	$f\check{r}bobs$	fir-cones
hirte	$\check{r}t$	hurt
hwirl	$w\check{r}(l)$	velocity
mirpren	$m\check{r}d\check{r}$ $m\check{r}\check{d}\check{r}$	murder
pirge	$p\check{r}d\check{z}$	
schirte	$\check{s}\check{r}t$	shirt
stirien	$st\check{r}$	stir
stirke	$st\check{r}k$	{ one-year- old heifer work (vb.) worm.
wirchen	$w\check{r}t\check{s}$	
wirm	$w\check{r}m$	

b) = OD. *er* in open syllables.

birrien	$beri$	bury
miracle	$mer\acute{a}k\acute{a}l$	miracle
mirie	$meri$	merry
spirit	$sperit$	spirit
(wirwen)	$werit$ ( $w\acute{a}rit$ )	worry.

ME. OD. NE.

c) = OD.  $\bar{a}r$  (Rare).

kirnel	$k\bar{a}rn\acute{a}l$	kernel
pirde	$p\bar{a}rd$	third
þirtig	$p\bar{a}rti$	thirty.

2. ME. *i* + *gh* ( $\chi$ ) before  
 $t = \bar{i}$ .

bright	$br\bar{i}t$	bright
frighten	$fr\bar{i}tn$	frighten
lighten	$l\bar{i}t(\acute{o})nin$	lightning
night	$n\bar{i}t$	night
right	$r\bar{i}t$	right
sight	$s\bar{i}t$	sight.

Note: An apparent exception is formed by the form  $f\bar{e}it$  = to fight, but this is probably not derived from ME. *fight*, but *feht*.

3. ME. *i* +  $\check{s}$  =  $\bar{i}\check{s}$ .

disshe	$d\bar{i}\check{s}$	dish
fisch	$f\bar{i}\check{s}$	fish
wisshen	$w\bar{i}\check{s}$	wish.

4. ME. *i* ( $y$ ) =  $u$  in the following:

firste	$f\acute{u}st$ ( $fost$ )	first
schytel	$\check{s}\acute{y}tl$	shuttle.

## O.

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

##### § 9.

ME. *o* usually remains *o* in the OD.

a) ME. *o* = OE. *o*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bopem	<i>boþem</i>	bottom
brok	<i>brok</i>	a badger
brosten	<i>brosn</i>	burst
chosen	<i>tšozn</i>	chosen
clokken	<i>klok</i>	to cluck
clomb-en	<i>kloṃ</i>	climbed [pret. and p. pl.]
cloven	<i>klovn</i>	cloven
coc?	<i>kokit</i>	au impudent girl
cod?(NED.)	<i>kod</i>	to banter
cop?(NED.)	<i>kop</i>	to catch hold

ME.	OD.	NE.
coper	<i>kopær</i>	copper
croft	<i>kroft</i>	field
crop	<i>krop</i>	stomach
folc	<i>fok</i>	folk
folgen	<i>folær</i>	to follow
foreward	<i>foræd</i>	forward
frogge	<i>frog</i>	frog
mot	<i>mot</i>	a mark to aim at
openen	<i>op(ə)n</i>	open
rop	<i>rops</i>	intestines
schonke	<i>šonks</i>	shanks
prostle	<i>prosl</i>	thrush.

b) ME. *o* = OE. *e*.  
focchen      *fotš*      to fetch.

c) ME. *o* = OE. *eo*.  
zond      *jon(d)*      yonder.

#### B. Scandinavian Sources.

blot	<i>blotš</i>	a blot	odde	<i>od</i>	to make
bobbin	<i>bobin</i>	a reel			equal
colop	<i>kolæp</i>	rasher of bacon	offal	<i>ofæl</i>	internal parts
doze	<i>dozænin</i>	dozing	roggen	<i>rog</i>	to rattle
fon	<i>fond</i>	foolish	scoperell	<i>skopæril</i>	a spinning top.
glopnen	<i>glopn</i>	to astonish			

#### C. Other Teutonic Sources.

blobure	<i>blob</i>	to bubble	moppe	<i>mopit</i>	a pert girl
clodde	<i>clod</i>	a grass turf	soppe	<i>sop</i>	to soak
cnokil	<i>nokalz</i>	knuckles	toteren	<i>todl</i>	to walk
lollen?	<i>lolopin</i>	awkward	trollin	<i>trol</i>	a loose woman.
lompe	<i>lomper</i>	to walk clumsily			

### D. French Sources.

a) ME. <i>o</i> = Fr. <i>o</i> , ( <i>o</i> ) (accented).			b) ME. <i>o</i> = Fr. <i>o</i> , ( <i>o</i> ) (unaccented).		
ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
comicalle	<i>komikil</i>	comical	conceit	<i>konsēt</i>	conceit
hobeler	<i>hobil</i>	a blockhead	converten	<i>konvārt</i>	convert
jobarde	<i>džobār</i> <i>-naul</i>	a foolish fellow	gob	<i>gob</i>	mouth
provende	<i>provn</i>	provender	loğgen	<i>lodž</i>	a reservoir
roket	<i>rokit</i>	an outer garment	ossen	<i>os</i>	to try
volume	<i>volam</i>	volume.	poshot	<i>posat</i>	posset

### E. Celtic Sources.

bobbe	<i>bob</i>	to dance about	fogge	<i>fog</i>	grass after mowing
boglen	<i>bogl</i>	to hesitate be afraid	jobbin	<i>job</i>	to stab
			scrog	<i>skrog</i>	a fragment.

### F. ME. *o* from Unknown Sources.

brodden (?)	<i>brodl</i>	to swagger	hoppere	<i>opār</i>	sort of basket
colok	<i>kolok</i>	a large pail	lopren	<i>lopārt</i>	curdled
costrelle	<i>kostril</i>	a little barrel	schocken (?)	<i>šog</i>	to jog.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 10.

1. ME. *o* has two developments before *r*.

a) =  $\bar{q}r$ .

corde	<i>kwq̄rd</i>	cord
forzifen	<i>fq̄rgén</i>	forgiven
fortune	<i>fq̄rtin</i> ( <i>fārtin</i> )	fortune
morn	<i>mq̄rn</i>	morning
orchard	<i>q̄rtšārt</i>	orchard
ort	<i>q̄rts</i>	broken victuals.

b) =  $\tilde{ā}r$ .

coral	<i>kāral</i>	coral
corn	<i>kār̄n</i>	corn

enorre	<i>knār</i>	knot in a tree
for	<i>fār</i>	for
fortune	<i>fārtin</i> ( <i>fq̄rtin</i> )	fortune
horn	<i>hār̄n</i>	horn
mord	<i>mār̄p</i>	{ a great quantity
þorn	<i>pār̄n</i>	
		thorn.

2. ME. *o* + *ŋ* = *uŋ*.

among	<i>amūŋg</i>	among
along	<i>alūŋg</i>	along
belongen	<i>bilūŋg</i>	belong
dongen	<i>duŋg</i>	struck(pl.)

ME.	OD.	NE.
(lang) long	<i>lung</i>	long
(sang) song	<i>sung</i>	song
(strang) strong	<i>strung</i>	strong
(tange) tonge	<i>tung</i>	tongs
(throng) thrung	<i>prung</i>	throng
(wrang) wrong	<i>rung</i> ( <i>rong</i> ) ( <i>ronk</i> )	wrong.

Note: *ronk* is an Ashton importation, cp. Introduction.

ME.	OD.	NE.
3. a) Before <i>l, s, t</i> , ME. <i>ol</i> = <i>au</i> .		
bolle	<i>bau</i>	bowl (sb.)
bolster	<i>baustər</i>	bolster
bolt	<i>baut</i>	bolt
colt	<i>kaut</i>	colt
pollen	<i>pau</i>	to cut
tol	<i>tau</i>	toll.
b) Before <i>k</i> ME. <i>ol</i> = <i>ō</i> .		
folk	<i>fōk</i> ( <i>fok</i> )	folk
ȝolk	<i>jōk</i>	yolk.

## U.

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

#### § 11.

ME. *u* appears in the OD. as *u* and *u*. It is often difficult to decide which is the correct form, the latter predominating before *m, n, ŋ*.

#### 1. ME. *u* = OE. *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bull	<i>bul</i> ( <i>bīf</i> )	tough beef
bunden	<i>bund</i>	bound
butere	<i>butər</i> <i>butdər</i>	butter
cumen	<i>kumn</i>	
cuppe-bōrd	<i>kubərt</i>	cup-board
drunken	<i>drunkn</i> <i>drūkn</i>	drunk
dubben	<i>dub</i>	
		to clip anything with a smooth edge

ME.	OD.	NE.
dun + ock	<i>dunək</i>	a hedge-sparrow
grund	<i>grun(d)</i> <i>unərt</i>	ground
hund(red)	<i>undərt</i> <i>undērt</i>	
Lunden	<i>Lunən</i>	
luven	<i>luv</i>	to love
pund	<i>pund</i>	pound
scruf	<i>skruf</i>	scurf
sumhwat	<i>sūmət</i>	something
sumbodiȝ	<i>sūmbri</i>	somebody
tunne	<i>tun</i>	to pour liquor into casks
puner	<i>punər</i>	
purh	<i>pruf</i> ( <i>prū</i> )	thunder
wunien	<i>wun</i>	live
wunder	<i>wundər</i>	wonder.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
2. ME. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>y</i> .					
bundel	<i>bundil</i>	bundle	schutte	<i>šut</i>	shut
crucche	<i>krutš</i>	crutch	trundel	<i>trundl</i>	trundle

#### B. Scandinavian Sources.

luggen	<i>lug</i>	to pull	ruke	<i>ruk</i>	{ a large quantity
muck	<i>muk</i>	filth			
puffen	<i>pufł</i>	{ to breathe with diffi- culty			

#### C. ME. *u* from other Teutonic Sources.

plumpen	<i>plump</i>	{ straight to the point vexed	slutte	<i>slut</i>	{ a slovenly woman.
frumplen	<i>frumpt</i>				

#### D. French Sources.

busard	<i>buzart</i>	a large moth	gumme	<i>gum</i>	gum
bulge	<i>bulš</i>	to bulge	(gomme)		
cruste	<i>krusaz</i>	{ crusts	musel	<i>muz</i>	mouth
	<i>krusiz</i>		(mosel)		
flux	<i>fluks</i>	{ excited state of mind	stubl	<i>stubl</i>	stubble
			summe	<i>sum</i>	sum.
			(somme)		

#### E. Celtic Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.
crudde	<i>krud</i>	curds.

#### F. Unknown Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
chuffe	<i>tšuf</i>	surly	sluche	<i>slutš</i>	half melted snow.
crumpe	<i>krump</i>	cramp			
hukken	<i>ukl</i>	to stoop			
mum	<i>mum</i>	quiet			
punchen	<i>puns</i>	to kick			
ruckelen	<i>rukl</i>	to rattle			
scunneren	<i>skunə</i>	to dislike			
schunten	<i>šunt</i>	to move on	cumen	{	<i>kom (kum)</i> come
			comen		

Note: ME. *u* (*o*) also appears as *o* in the following cases, probably thus: *u* > *u* > *o*?



ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
comforten	<i>komfǣrt</i> ( <i>kumfǣrt</i> )	comfort	stump, stomp	<i>stomp</i> ( <i>stūmp</i> )	stump
dromme	<i>drom</i> ( <i>drum</i> )	drum	trumpet	{ <i>trompit</i> ( <i>trūmpit</i> ) ( <i>þrūmpit</i> )	trumpet
knokel	<i>nokelz</i> <sup>1</sup>	knuckles	up	<i>op</i> ( <i>up</i> )	up.
sum (som)	<i>som</i> ( <i>sum</i> )	some			
sumbodiz	<i>sombri</i> <i>somdi</i> <i>sumbri</i> <i>sumdi</i>	somebody			

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 12.

1. ME. <i>u</i> + <i>r</i> = <i>ǣr</i> .			2. ME. <i>u</i> + <i>l</i> (final) or before <i>l</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>t</i> = <i>ū</i> or <i>ū</i> + <i>ð</i> or <i>t</i> .		
burlen	<i>bǣrl</i>	to pour	bulder	<i>būdǣr</i>	boulder
burre	<i>bǣr</i>	a sticky plant	(stōn)		
hurren	( <i>h</i> ) <i>ǣr</i>	to purr	culter	<i>kūdǣr</i>	ploughshare
hurst	<i>hǣrst</i>	a wood, grove	ful	<i>fū</i>	full
murðren	<i>mǣrðǣr</i>	murder	pullen	<i>pū</i>	pull
murnen	<i>mǣrn</i>	mourn	schulder	<i>šūdǣr</i> ( <i>šūdǣr</i> ) ( <i>šildǣr</i> )	shoulder.
wurchen	<i>wǣrts</i>	to work			
wurzen	<i>warit</i>	to worry.			

## ü.

### A. English Sources.

### § 13.

ME. *ü* = OE. *y* has become ME. *i* in NW. Midland-Dialect = OD. *i* (cf. § 7, A, b.), but in the following OE. *y* > OD. *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bündel	<i>bundl</i>	bundle	schütel	<i>šutl</i>	shuttle
schütten	<i>šut</i>	shut	prüssche	<i>pruš</i>	thrush.

<sup>1</sup> No other form.

## B. French Sources.

ME. <i>u</i> = Fr. <i>ü</i> = OD. <i>u</i> ( <i>u</i> ).			ME.	OD.	NE.
ME.	OD.	NE.			
duchesse	<i>dutšəs</i>	duchess	just	<i>džust</i>	just
humble	<i>umbl</i>	humble	justice	<i>džustis</i>	justice
juġe	<i>džudž</i>	judge	punisse	<i>pūnis</i>	punish
			studie	<i>studi</i>	study.

Note: Cp. § 7 and 8.

## Long Vowels.

### *ā*.

#### 1 Spontaneous Development.

##### A. English Sources.

#### § 14.

ME. *ā* appears as *ē*, when final or before voiced consonants, as *ē<sup>i</sup>* before unvoiced.

a) ME. *ā* = OE. *a*.

1. = OD. *ē*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
āken	<i>ēk</i>	ache
drāke	<i>drēk</i>	drake
hāte	<i>(h)ēt</i>	hate
lāke	<i>lēk</i>	lake
nāked	<i>nēkt</i>	naked
snāke	<i>snēk</i>	snake
stāpel	<i>stēpl</i>	staple
tāper	<i>tēpər</i>	taper.

2. = OD. *ē<sup>i</sup>*.

grāse	<i>grē<sup>i</sup>z</i>	graze
grāve	<i>grē<sup>i</sup>v</i>	grave
knāve	<i>ne<sup>i</sup>v</i>	knave

ME.	OD.	NE.
lāde	<i>lē<sup>i</sup>d</i>	lade
wāde	<i>wē<sup>i</sup>d</i>	wade
māne	<i>mē<sup>i</sup>n</i>	mane
māme	<i>nē<sup>i</sup>m</i>	name
sāme	<i>se<sup>i</sup>m</i>	same
spāde	<i>spē<sup>i</sup>d</i>	spade
tāle	<i>tē<sup>i</sup>l</i>	tale.

b) ME. *ā* = OE. *ea*.

āle	<i>ē<sup>i</sup>l</i>	ale
gāte	<i>gēt</i>	gete
schāde	<i>sē<sup>i</sup>d</i>	shade.

c) ME. *ā* = OE. *æ*.

blād	<i>blē<sup>i</sup>d</i>	blade
māpel	<i>mē<sup>i</sup>pl</i>	maple
rāven	<i>rē<sup>i</sup>vn</i>	raven
wāter	<i>wē<sup>i</sup>tər</i>	water.
	<i>(wētđər)</i>	
	<i>(watər)</i>	

#### B. Scandinavian Sources.

gāpe	<i>gēp</i>	gape	gāse	<i>gē<sup>i</sup>z</i>	gaze
gāte	<i>gēt</i>	way, road	cāke	<i>kēk</i>	cake.

### C. French Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
āble	<i>ē<sup>i</sup>bl</i>	able	fāble	<i>fē<sup>i</sup>bl</i>	fable
bācon	<i>bēkn</i>	bacon	fāce	<i>fēs</i>	face
bācin	<i>bēs<sup>n</sup></i>	basin	fāme	<i>fē<sup>i</sup>m</i>	fame
blāme	<i>blē<sup>i</sup>m</i>	blame	māsoun	<i>mēs<sup>n</sup></i>	mason
cāge	<i>kē<sup>i</sup>dž</i>	cage	nāture	<i>nētə<sup>r</sup></i>	nature
cās	<i>kēs</i>	case		<i>(nētđə<sup>r</sup>)</i>	
debāte	<i>dībēt</i>	debate	plāce	<i>plēs</i>	place.
escāpen	<i>eskēp</i>	escape			

### 2. Development in Combination.

#### § 15.

ME.  $\bar{a} + r =$  OD.  $\bar{\sigma}^r$  (very long).

fāre	<i>fā<sup>r</sup></i>	fare
hāre	<i>hā<sup>r</sup></i>	hare
kāreles	<i>kā<sup>r</sup>lās</i>	careless

spāren	<i>spā<sup>r</sup></i>	spare
stāre	<i>stā<sup>r</sup></i>	stare.

Note: For a shortening of ME.  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{a}$  see special chapter on long Vowels shortened in OD.

## $\bar{e}$ .

### I. $\bar{e}$ .

#### 1. Spontaneous Development.

##### A. English Sources.

#### § 16.

##### 1. ME. $\bar{e} =$ OE. $\bar{e}a$ .

a) = OD.  $\bar{e}a$ , *je*.

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bēam	bēm	<i>bīam</i>	beam
bēan	bēne	<i>bīan</i>	bean
bēatan	bēte	<i>bīat</i> , <i>bjet</i>	beat
brēad	brēd	<i>brīad</i>	bread
čēap	chēp	<i>tšīap</i> ( <i>tšēp</i> )	cheap
dēad	dēd	<i>dīad</i> , <i>djed</i>	dead
dēaf	dēf	<i>dīaf</i>	deaf
dēap	dēp	<i>dīap</i> , <i>djep</i>	death
drēam	drēm	<i>drīam</i> ( <i>drēm</i> )	dream

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
hēafod	hēd	<i>jed</i>	head
hēap	hēp	<i>īap</i>	heap
lēaf	lēf	<i>līaf</i>	leaf
hlēapan	lēpe	<i>līap</i>	leap
sēam	sēm	<i>sīam</i>	seam
stēam	stēm	<i>stīam</i>	steam
strēam	strēm	<i>strīam</i>	stream.

b) = OD. *ī*, probably influenced by the lit. language.

ēast	ēst	<i>īst</i>	east
stēap	stēp	<i>stīp</i>	steep.

c) = OD. *ē*.

ēastro	ēster	<i>ēstər, ēspər</i>	Easter
grēat	grēt	<i>grēt</i>	great.

## 2. ME. *ē* = OE. *æ* (Germ. *ai* + *i, j*).

a) = OD. *īa, je*.

clāene	clēne	<i>tlīen (tlen)</i>	clean
dāl	dēl	<i>dīal, djel</i>	deal
hālan	hēle	<i>īal, jel</i>	heal
hāte	hēte	<i>īat, jet</i>	heat
hāp	hēp	<i>īeþ, jeþ</i>	heath
lādan	lēde	<i>līad, ljed</i>	lead
hlāene	lēne	<i>līan</i>	lean
lāst	lēst	<i>līast</i>	least
lāfan	lēve	<i>līav</i>	leave
zemāene	mēne	<i>mīan</i>	mean (adj)
māenan	mēne	<i>mīan</i>	mean (vb.)
rāccan	rēche	<i>rīatš (rētš)</i>	reach
sprādan	sprēde	<i>sprīed</i>	spread
swātan	swēte	<i>swīat (swot)</i>	sweat
hwāte	whēte	<i>wīat</i>	wheat.

b) = OD. *ē*.

sāe	sē	<i>sē (sī)</i>	sea
tāccian	tēche	<i>tētš</i>	teach.

c) = OD. *ī*.

sāe	sē	<i>sī (sē)</i>	sea.
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d) = OD. *ō*.

swātan	swēte	<i>swot (swīat)</i>	sweat.
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## B. French Sources.

The vast majority of genuine dialect words from the French show a development of ME.  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{e}$ .

### I. ME. $\bar{e}$ = Fr. *ai*, *ei*.

#### a) = OD. $\bar{e}$ ( $\bar{e}'$ ).

Fr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
aise	$\bar{e}$ se	$\bar{e}'z$	ease
aigle	$\bar{e}$ gle	$\bar{e}gl$	eagle
eigre	$\bar{e}$ gre	$\bar{e}g\bar{o}'$	eager
pais	p $\bar{e}$ s	p $\bar{e}$ s	peace
raison	r $\bar{e}$ soun	r $\bar{e}zn$ [r $\bar{i}\bar{o}zn$ , r $\bar{e}zn$ , rj $\bar{e}zn$ ]	reason
traitier	tr $\bar{e}$ ten (traiten)	tr $\bar{e}t$	treat.
graisse	gr $\bar{e}$ se	gr $\bar{e}$ s	grease

#### b) = OD. $\bar{i}\bar{a}$ , j $\bar{e}$ .

plaisir	pl $\bar{e}$ se	pl $\bar{i}\bar{a}z$ (plez)	please
raison	r $\bar{e}$ soun	r $\bar{i}\bar{a}zn$ , rj $\bar{e}zn$ , [r $\bar{e}zn$ , r $\bar{e}zn$ ]	reason
saison	s $\bar{e}$ soun	s $\bar{i}\bar{a}zn$	season
saisir	s $\bar{e}$ sen (saisen)	s $\bar{i}\bar{a}z$	seize.

#### c) = OD. $\bar{i}$ (influenced by the lit. language).

desaise	dis $\bar{e}$ ze	di $\bar{i}z\bar{i}z$	disease
encreiss-	en $\bar{e}$ rsen	in $\bar{k}r\bar{i}z$	increase
fait	f $\bar{e}t$	f $\bar{i}t$	feat
faiture	f $\bar{e}t$ ure	f $\bar{i}t\bar{s}\bar{o}'$	feature
plaidier	pl $\bar{e}$ de	pl $\bar{i}d$	plead.

### II. ME. $\bar{e}$ = Fr. *e*.

#### a) = OD. $\bar{e}$ .

deceveir	dece $\bar{v}$ e (deceive)	dis $\bar{e}v$	deceive
prechier	pr $\bar{e}$ chen	pr $\bar{e}t\bar{s}$	preach
recet	rec $\bar{e}t$ (receit)	ri $\bar{s}\bar{e}t$	receipt.

#### b) = OD. $\bar{i}\bar{a}$ .

beste	b $\bar{e}$ ste	b $\bar{i}\bar{a}st$	beast
feste	f $\bar{e}$ ste	f $\bar{i}\bar{a}st$	feast
receveir	rec $\bar{e}$ ve (receive)	res $\bar{i}\bar{a}v$	receive.

c) = OD.  $\bar{i}$  (literary influence).

Fr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
appeler	apēle	<i>ap̄l</i>	appeal
cesser	cēse	<i>s̄is</i>	cease.

III. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Fr. *ēe* = OD.  $\bar{i}a$ .

sēel	sēle	<i>s̄īal</i>	seal
vēel	vēl	<i>v̄īal</i>	veal.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 17.

ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = OD.  $\bar{i}a^r$ .

bēard	bērd	<i>b̄īa^rd</i>	beard
ēare	ēre	<i>īa^r</i>	ear
nēar	nēr	<i>n̄īa^r</i>	near
tēar	tēr	<i>t̄īa^r</i>	tear (sb.).

## II. $\bar{e}$ .

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

### § 18.

1. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$  ( $\bar{o}$  + *i*, *j*).

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

bēce	bēche	<i>b̄ītš</i>	beech
blēdan	blēde	<i>bl̄īd</i>	bleed
brēc	brēche	<i>br̄ītšəz</i>	breeches
fēdan	fēde	<i>f̄īd</i>	feed
fēlan	fēle	<i>f̄īl</i>	feel
fēt	fēt	<i>f̄īt</i>	feet
gēs	gēs	<i>ḡīs</i>	geese
grēne	grēne	<i>gr̄īn</i>	green
grētan	grēten	<i>gr̄īt</i>	weep
sēcan	sēke, sēche	<i>s̄ītš</i>	seek
twēte	swēte	<i>sw̄īt</i>	sweet
sēp	tēth	<i>t̄īp</i>	teeth.

b) = OD.  $\bar{i}a$ , *je*.

brēdan	brēde	<i>br̄īad</i>	breed
mētan	mēte	<i>m̄īat, m̄jet</i>	meet
spēd	spēd	<i>sp̄īad</i>	speed.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$  = WG.  $\bar{e}$  final.

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
hē	hē	$\bar{i}$ ( $\bar{i}$ ) ( $\bar{\bar{i}}$ )	he
mē	mē	$m\bar{i}$ ( $m\bar{i}$ )	me
þē	þē	$\bar{d}\bar{i}$ ( $\bar{d}\bar{i}$ )	thee
wē	wē	$w\bar{i}$ ( $w\bar{i}$ )	we.

b) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

hē	hē	$\bar{i}$ ( $\bar{i}$ ) ( $\bar{\bar{i}}$ )	he
mē	mē	$m\bar{i}$ [ $m\bar{i}$ ]	me
þē	þē	$\bar{d}\bar{i}$ [ $\bar{d}\bar{i}$ ]	thee
wē	wē	$w\bar{i}$ [ $w\bar{i}$ ]	we.

c) = OD.  $\bar{\bar{i}}$ .

hē	hē	$\bar{\bar{i}}$ ( $\bar{i}$ ) ( $\bar{i}$ )	he.
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Note: The forms with  $\bar{i}$  are stressed, those with  $\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{\bar{i}}$  unstressed.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}o$ .

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

bēon	bē	$b\bar{i}$ ( $b\bar{i}$ )	be
bēo	bē	$b\bar{i}$	bee
cēoke	chēke	$t\bar{s}\bar{i}k$	cheek
dēop	dēp	$d\bar{i}p$	deep
dēofol	dēvel	$d\bar{i}l$ ( $di\bar{v}l$ ) ( $d\bar{e}l$ , $dj\bar{u}l$ )	} devil
frēosan	frēse	$fr\bar{i}z$	
lēof	lēf	$l\bar{i}f$ ( $l\bar{e}f$ )	lief
sēon	sē	$s\bar{i}$	see
þēof	thēf	$þ\bar{i}f$	thief
wēod	wēd	$w\bar{i}d$	weed
hwēol	whēl	$w\bar{i}l$	wheel.

b) = OD.  $\bar{i}a$ .

crēopan	crēpe	$kr\bar{i}ep$	creep
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c) = OD.  $\bar{e}$ .

dēofol	dēvel	$d\bar{e}l$ ( $d\bar{i}l$ , $di\bar{v}l$ , $dj\bar{u}l$ )	devil
lēof	lēf	$l\bar{e}f$ ( $l\bar{i}f$ )	lief.

d) = OD. *ī*.

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bēon	bēn	<i>bin</i> ( <i>bīn</i> )	been
bēon	bē	<i>bi</i> ( <i>bī</i> )	be
dēofol	dēvel	<i>diwl</i>	devil
sēoc	sēk	<i>sik</i>	sick.

e) = OD. *jū*.

dēofol	dēvel	<i>djūl</i>	devil.
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4. ME. *ē* = OE. *ē* (*ēa* + *i, j*)

a) = OD. *ī*.

zelēfan	bilēve	<i>bilīv</i>	believe
sčēte	schēte	<i>šīt</i>	sheet
stēpel	stōpel	<i>stīpa</i>	steeple
tēzan	tēge ( <i>tīge</i> )	<i>tī</i>	tie.

b) = OD. *īa*.

nēd	nēd ( <i>nēd</i> )	<i>nīad</i>	need
slēfe	slēve	<i>slīav</i>	sleeve.

5. ME. *ē* = OE. *ē* + *īa*.

a) = OD. *ī*.

fēld	fēld	<i>fīlt</i> ( <i>fīlt</i> )	field
zēldan	zēlde	<i>jīld</i>	yield.

b) = OD. *ē*.

fēld	fēld	<i>fēlt</i> ( <i>fīlt</i> )	field.
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## B. French Sources.

ME. *ē* = OD. *ī*:

1. ME. *ē* = Fr. *é* = OD. *ī*.

agrээр	agrēc	<i>agrī</i>	agree
légende	lēgende	<i>līdžand</i>	legend.

2. ME. *ē* = Fr. *ie* = OD. *ī*.

chief	chēf	<i>tšīf</i>	chief
niece	nēce	<i>nīs</i>	niece
piece	pēce	<i>pīs</i>	peace.

3. ME. *ē* + *a* = Fr. *ea* = OD. *iē*.

theatre	tēatre	<i>piētār</i>	theatre.
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4. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Fr. *ué* = OD.  $\bar{i}a$ .

OFr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
buéf	bēf	<i>bīaf</i>	beef
puéple	pēple	<i>pīapl</i>	people.

5. ME.  $\bar{e}$  = Fr. *e*, *ié*.

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

degre	degrē	<i>digrī</i>	degree
relever	relēve	<i>rilīv</i>	relieve
succeder	succēde	<i>suksīd</i>	succeed.

b) = OD.  $\bar{i}a$ .

griéf, grēf	grēf	<i>grīaf</i>	grief
grever	grēve	<i>grīav</i>	grieve.

c) = OD.  $\bar{e}$ .

(L) febrem	fēver	<i>fēvār</i>	fever
obedient	obēdient	<i>obēdjant</i>	obedient
special	spēcial	<i>spēšal</i>	special.

§ 19.

1. ME.  $\bar{e}$  before *r* in English Words.

a) ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = OE.  $\bar{e}r$  ( $\bar{o}$  + *i*, *j*).

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}a^r$ .

wēriȝ	wēry	<i>wīa<sup>r</sup>i</i> ( <i>wēari</i> )*	weary.
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b) = OD.  $\bar{e}a^r$ .

wēriȝ	wēry	<i>wēari</i> ( <i>wīari</i> )	weary.
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b) ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = OE.  $\bar{e}r$  = WG.  $\bar{e}$  (final).

hēr	hēre	$\bar{i}a^r$	here.
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c) ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = OE.  $\bar{e}or$  = OD.  $\bar{i}a^r$ .

bēor	bēr	<i>bīa<sup>r</sup></i>	bear
dēore	dēre	<i>dīa<sup>r</sup></i>	dear
dēor	dēr	<i>dīa<sup>r</sup></i>	deer
drēoriz	drēri	<i>drīari</i>	dreary.

\* Note: The form *drī* is more common in the OD.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$  before *r* in French Words.

1. ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = Fr. *ier*.

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}a^r$ .

fiers	fērs	<i>fīa<sup>r</sup>s</i>	fierce
piere	pēre	<i>pīa<sup>r</sup></i>	pier.

2. ME. *ēr* = *aier* = OD. *aiar*.

OFr.	ME.	OD.	NE.
quaier	quēr (quaer)	<i>kwaia<sup>r</sup></i>	quire.

3. ME. *ēr* = Fr. *œur* = OD. *aiar*.

chœur	quēr	<i>kwaia<sup>r</sup></i>	choir.
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4. ME. *ēr* = Fr. *er*.

a) = OD. *iā<sup>r</sup>*.

aperer	apēre	<i>apīa<sup>r</sup></i>	appear
cler	clēr	<i>ltīa<sup>r</sup></i>	clear
fers (fiers)	fērs	<i>fīa<sup>r</sup>s</i>	fierce.
chere	chēre	<i>tšīa<sup>r</sup></i>	cheer.

b) = OD. *aiar*.

enquer- frere	enquēre frēre	<i>inkwaier</i> <i>fraia<sup>r</sup></i>	enquire. friar.
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### III. ME. *ē* -- *ē* from. W. Germ. *ā*.

#### 1. Spontaneous Development.

##### A. English Sources.

#### § 20.

1. ME. *ē* -- *ē* = OE. *ē*, *ǣ*.

a) = OD. *iā*.

bræð	brēth	<i>brīaþ</i>	breath
bræpan	brēpen	<i>brīað</i>	breathe
on-drædan	drēd	<i>drīad</i>	dread
nædl	nēdle	<i>nīadl</i> ( <i>nīld</i> , <i>nīl</i> )	} needle
sčæp	schēp	<i>šīap</i>	
slæpan	slēpe	<i>slīap</i>	sleep
stæle	stēle	<i>stīal</i>	steel
stræt	strēte	<i>strīat</i>	street
þræd	thrēd	<i>þrīad</i>	thread.

b) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
dæd	dēd	<i>dīd</i>	deed
ǣl	ēl	<i>īl</i>	eel
ǣfnung	ēvening	<i>īn</i>	evening
grǣdiȝ	grēdi	<i>grīdi</i>	greedy
nǣdl	nēdle	<i>nīld, nīl</i> <i>(nīadl)</i>	} needle
sǣd	sēd	<i>sīd</i>	

c) = OD.  $\bar{e}$ .

spǣč	spēche	<i>spētš</i>	speech.
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d) = OD.  $\bar{u}$ .

hǣr	hēr	<i>jūr</i>	hair.
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e) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

in + stǣde	instēde	<i>istid</i>	instead
rǣdels	rēdles	<i>ridl</i>	riddle.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 21.

ME.  $\bar{e} - \bar{e} + r =$  OE.  $\bar{e}r$ ,  $\bar{x}r$ .

1. = OD.  $\bar{i}ar$ .

bǣr	bēre	<i>bīar</i>	bier
fǣr	fēre	<i>fīar</i>	fear.

2. = OD.  $\bar{a}r$ .

wǣron	wēre	<i>wār</i>	were
hwǣr	wēhr	<i>wār (wīar)</i>	where.

## IV. Medium $\bar{e} =$ OE. $\bar{e}$ in Open Syllables.

(cp. Luick, Untersuchungen § 202.)

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### § 22.

a) = OD.  $ia$ ,  $ja$ .

cnēdan	knēde	<i>nīad (ned)</i>	knead
mēlo	mēl	<i>mīal, mjel</i> <i>(mēl)</i>	} meal
stēlan	stēle	<i>stīal, stjēl</i> <i>(stēl)</i>	
trēdan	trēde	<i>trīad (trēd)</i>	tread.

b) = OD.  $\bar{e}$ .

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
brēcān	brēke	<i>brēk</i>	break
ētan	ētē	<i>ēt</i>	eat
mēlo	mēl	<i>mēl</i> ( <i>mīal</i> , <i>mjel</i> )	meal
spēcān	spēke	<i>spēk</i>	
stēlan	stēle	<i>stēl</i> ( <i>stīal</i> , <i>stjel</i> )	steal
trēdan	trēde	<i>trēd</i> ( <i>trīed</i> )	
wēfan	wēve	<i>wēv</i>	weave.

c) = OD.  $\bar{i}$ .

brēcān + fæstan	brēkefaste	<i>brīkfāst</i>	breakfast.
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## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 23.

1. ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$ - before *r*.

a) = OD.  $\bar{i}\bar{a}r$ .

sčēran	schēre	<i>šīār</i>	shear
spēre	spēre	<i>spīār</i>	spear.

b) = OD.  $\bar{e}\bar{a}r$ .

bēra	bēre	<i>bēār</i>	bear (sb.)
bēran	bēre	<i>bēār</i> ( <i>bār</i> )	bear (vb.)
pēru	pēre	<i>pēār</i> ( <i>pār</i> )	pear
tēran	tēre	<i>tēār</i> ( <i>tār</i> )	tear (vb.).

c) = OD.  $\bar{a}r$ .

bēran	bēre	<i>bār</i> ( <i>bāār</i> )	bear (vb.)
pēru	pēre	<i>pār</i> ( <i>pāār</i> )	pear
tēran	tēre	<i>tār</i> ( <i>tāār</i> )	tear (vb.).

2. ME.  $\bar{e}r$  = OE. *e*- before *r*.

a) = OD.  $\bar{e}\bar{a}r$ .

swērian	swēre	<i>swēār</i> ( <i>swār</i> )	swear
wērian	wēre	<i>wēār</i>	wear.

b) = OD.  $\bar{a}r$ .

swērian	swēre	<i>swār</i> ( <i>swēār</i> )	swear.
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V.

§ 24.

In the following words *ē* (from various sources) has had *j* prefixed.

OE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>āl</i>	<i>ēl</i>	<i>jel</i>	<i>awl</i>
<i>āerlice</i>	<i>ērli</i>	<i>jarli</i>	<i>early</i>
<i>ēare</i>	<i>ēre</i>	<i>jār</i>	<i>ear</i>
<i>eornust</i>	<i>ērnest</i>	<i>jōrnest, jārnest</i>	<i>earnest</i>
<i>eorðe</i>	<i>ērthe</i>	<i>jārþ</i>	<i>earth</i>
Fr. <i>aise</i>	<i>ēse + y</i>	<i>jezi</i>	<i>easy</i>
<i>ētan</i>	<i>ēte</i>	<i>jet</i>	<i>eat.</i>

*I.*

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 25.

ME. *ī* has two developments in the OD. becoming either *ai*, the older form or *ei* as in the literary language.

1. a) ME. *ī* = OE. *ī* = OD. *ai*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>fīnde</i>	<i>fāind</i>	<i>find</i>
<i>fīve</i>	<i>fāiv</i>	<i>five</i>
<i>hwīle</i>	<i>wāil (wol)</i>	<i>while</i>
<i>mīle</i>	<i>māil</i>	<i>mile</i>
<i>mīn</i>	<i>māin</i>	<i>mine</i>
<i>pīpe</i>	<i>pāip</i>	<i>pipe</i>
<i>rīden</i>	<i>rāid</i>	<i>ride</i>
<i>sīde</i>	<i>sāid</i>	<i>side</i>
<i>schīnen</i>	<i>šāin</i>	<i>shine</i>
<i>strīken</i>	<i>strāik</i>	<i>strike</i>
<i>tīme</i>	<i>tāim</i>	<i>time</i>
<i>wīf</i>	<i>wāif</i>	<i>wife</i>
<i>wīlde</i>	<i>wāild</i>	<i>wild</i>

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>wīnden</i>	<i>wāint</i>	<i>wind</i>
<i>wīten</i>	<i>rāit</i>	<i>write.</i>

b) Forms where *ai* is preferred, though *ei* is also found. In some cases the words are not in common use in the dialect.

<i>chīmbe</i>	<i>tšaim</i> ( <i>tsaim</i> )	<i>chime</i>
<i>climben</i>	<i>tlaim</i> ( <i>tlaim</i> )	<i>climb</i>
<i>grīnden</i>	<i>graind</i> ( <i>grāind</i> )	<i>grind</i>
<i>līf</i>	<i>laif (lāif)</i>	<i>life</i>
<i>mīlde</i>	<i>maild</i> ( <i>māild</i> )	<i>mild</i>
<i>sīde</i>	<i>said</i>	<i>scythe</i>
<i>swīn</i>	<i>swain</i>	<i>swine.</i>

c) Forms where I have only heard *ai*. They are either foreign to the dialect or strongly influenced by the lit. language.

ME.	OD.	NE.
abīden	<i>abaid</i>	bear, put up with
arīsen	<i>araiz</i>	arise
bīnden	<i>baind</i>	bind
Chrīst	<i>kraist</i>	Christ
īs	<i>aīs</i>	ice
īdel	<i>aidl</i> <sup>1</sup>	idle
īlond	<i>ailənd</i>	island
līne	<i>lain</i>	line
whīt	<i>wait</i>	white
wīd	<i>waid</i>	wide
wīn	<i>wain</i>	wine
wīse	<i>waiz</i>	wise.

2. ME. *ī* = OE. *ȳ*.

a) = OD. *ai*.

bīle	<i>bail</i>	boil (tumour)
dīven	<i>daiu</i>	dive
hīde	<i>haid</i>	hide (skin)
hīden	<i>haid</i>	to hide
hīve	<i>aiu</i>	hive
līs	<i>lais</i>	lice
mīs	<i>mais</i>	mice
minde	<i>maīnd</i>	mind
tīnen	<i>tain (tīn)</i>	to shut.

ME. OD. NE.

b) = OD. *ai*.

bīle	<i>bail</i>	bile
brīde	<i>braid</i>	bride
kīnde	<i>kaind</i>	kind
prīde	<i>praid</i>	pride.

c) = OD. *ī*.

tīnen	<i>tīn (tāin)</i>	shut
wīschen	<i>wīš</i>	wish.

d) = OD. *ī*.

lītel	<i>litl</i>	little
thīmel	<i>þimbl</i>	thimble.

3. ME. *ī* = OE. *i* (*ē*), *y* + *z*  
= OD. *ai* or *ai*.

bīe (biġġe)	<i>bai</i>	buy
drīze	<i>drai</i>	dry
nīne	<i>nain</i>	nine
rīe	<i>rai</i>	rye
stīle	<i>stail</i> ( <i>stail</i> )	stile
tīe	<i>tai</i>	tie
tīle	<i>tail</i>	tile
tīthe	<i>taid</i>	tithe.

4. ME. *ī* = OE. *ēo* + *z*.

flīe	<i>flāi (flai)</i>	fly
līe	<i>lāi</i>	to tell lies.

5. ME. *ī* = OE. *ēa* + *z*.

(eie), īe	<i>ai</i>	eye.
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## B. French Sources.

a) ME. *ī* = OD. *ai*.

fine	<i>fain</i>	fine	sīgne	<i>sain</i>	sign
nīce	<i>nais</i>	nice	spīt	<i>spait</i>	spite
quīete	<i>kwaiet</i>	quiet	strīf	<i>straiif</i>	strife
			strīve	<i>straiu</i>	strive.

<sup>1</sup> A most uncommon word in OD. It is always expressed by *lēzi* = lazy.

b) = OD. <i>ai</i> or <i>ai</i> .			ME.	OD.	NE.
ME.	OD.	NE.			
fīnal	<i>faināl</i> ( <i>faināl</i> )	} final	Bīble	<i>Baibl</i>	Bible
			crīe	<i>krāi</i>	cry
		delīte	<i>dilāit</i>	delight	
līoun	<i>laiən</i> ( <i>laiən</i> )	} lion	denīe	<i>dināi</i>	deny
			dīamaund	<i>dāimənt</i>	diamond
pīnte	<i>paint</i> ( <i>paint</i> )	} pint	gīaunt	<i>dzāient</i>	giant
			lībrairie	<i>lāibrəri</i>	library
sīlent	<i>sailənt</i> ( <i>sailənt</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	} silent.	prīs	<i>prāis</i>	price
			(prīvē)	<i>prāivət</i>	private
		resīgnen	<i>rizāin</i>	resign	
		tīgre	<i>tāigər</i>	tiger	
		vīce	<i>vāis</i>	vice	
		vīolent	<i>vāilent</i>	violent.	

c) ME. <i>ī</i> = OD. <i>āi</i> .		
avīs	<i>advāis</i>	advice
apetīt	<i>apetāit</i>	appetite

### C. Scandinavian Sources.

ME. <i>ī</i> = OD. <i>ai</i> , <i>ai</i> .					
ME.	OD.	NE.			
dīe	<i>dai</i>	die	skīe	<i>skai</i> <i>skai</i>	} sky
			thrīve	<i>þraiv</i>	

### ME. *ī* in Combination.

#### § 26.

ME. <i>ī</i> + <i>r</i> gives the triphthongs <i>aiər</i> and <i>aiər</i> in the OD.					
ME.	OD.	NE.			
desīre	<i>dizāiər</i>	desire	squīre	<i>skwaiər</i>	sqire
empīre	<i>Empaiər</i>	Empire	wīr	<i>waiər</i>	wire.
fīr	<i>faiər</i>	fire			
hīren	<i>haiər</i>	hire			
īren	<i>aiər n</i>	iron			
mīre	<i>maiər</i>	mire			
schīre	<i>šāiər</i>	shire			

Note: "Empire" being a common name for music halls and theatres it has become an integral part of the Dialect and has conformed to the usual Sound Law.

<sup>1</sup> *sailent* is rare, *kwaiət* is the more commonly used word.

Q.

1. Spontaneous Development.

A. English Sources.

§ 27.

I. ME.  $\bar{q}$  becomes  $\bar{u}$  in the OD.

1. ME.  $\bar{q}$  = OE.  $\bar{a}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
al $\bar{q}$ ne	<i>alūan</i>	alono
b $\bar{q}$ t	<i>būat</i>	boat
b $\bar{q}$ n	<i>būan</i>	bone
b $\bar{q}$ the	<i>būap</i> ( <i>bwoþ</i> )	both
cl $\bar{q}$ th	<i>tlūaz</i>	clothes
g $\bar{q}$	<i>gūa</i> ( <i>gū</i> )	go
gr $\bar{q}$ ne	<i>grūan</i>	groan
h $\bar{q}$ m	<i>ūam</i> ( <i>wom</i> )	home
l $\bar{q}$ f	<i>lūaf</i>	loaf
m $\bar{q}$ st	<i>mūast</i> ( <i>mwest</i> )	most
n $\bar{q}$ se	<i>nūaz</i>	nose
ōtes	<i>ūats</i> ( <i>wots</i> )	oats
ōþ	<i>uap</i>	oath
r $\bar{q}$ de	<i>rūad</i> ( <i>rēd</i> )	road
s $\bar{q}$ pe	<i>sūap</i> ( <i>swop</i> )	soap
st $\bar{q}$ n	<i>stūan</i>	stone
p $\bar{q}$ s	<i>đūaz</i> ( <i>đūz</i> )	those.

2. ME.  $\bar{q}$  = OE.  $o$ .

c $\bar{q}$ le	<i>kūal</i> ( <i>koil</i> )	coal
fl $\bar{q}$ te	<i>flūat</i>	float
r $\bar{q}$ se	<i>rūaz</i>	rose
sm $\bar{q}$ ke	<i>smūak</i>	smoke(sb.)*
þr $\bar{q}$ te	<i>þrūat</i>	throat.

\* Note: The dialect word for "smoke" as a verb is *rītš*.

II. In a number of words ME.  $\bar{q}$  has become  $\bar{o}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
ar $\bar{q}$ s	<i>arōz</i>	arose
at- $\bar{q}$ n	<i>atōn</i>	atone
b $\bar{q}$ ste	<i>bōst</i>	boast
br $\bar{q}$ che	<i>brōtš</i>	broach
g $\bar{q}$ te	<i>gōt</i>	goat
gr $\bar{q}$ te	<i>grōt</i>	groat
h $\bar{q}$ p	<i>hōp</i>	hope
m $\bar{q}$ ne	<i>mōn</i>	moan
ōc	<i>ōk</i>	oak
s $\bar{q}$ ( <i>swo</i> )	<i>sō</i>	so
t $\bar{q}$	<i>tō</i>	toe.

Note: These cases where ME.  $\bar{q}$  =  $\bar{o}$  are probably due either to the influence of lit. English or to that of the adjoining western dialects. Cp. Hargreaves § 41.

III. ME.  $\bar{q}$  = *wo*, *wu*.

b $\bar{q}$ n	<i>bwon</i> ( <i>būan</i> )	bone
b $\bar{q}$ the	<i>bwoþ</i> ( <i>būap</i> )	both
c $\bar{q}$ t	<i>kwot</i> ( <i>kūat</i> )	coat
g $\bar{q}$	<i>gwo</i> ( <i>gūa</i> )	go
h $\bar{q}$ l	<i>wol</i> ( <i>wul</i> )	whole
h $\bar{q}$ m	<i>wom</i> ( <i>wum</i> )	home



ME.	OD.	NE.
hōt	<i>wot</i>	hot
lōde	<i>lwod</i> ( <i>lūəd</i> )	load
mōst	<i>mwoost</i> ( <i>mūəst</i> )	most
ōn	<i>won</i> ( <i>wun</i> )	one*
ōnes	<i>wonst</i> ( <i>wunst</i> )	once
ōtes	<i>wots</i> ( <i>wuts</i> )	oats
sōpe	<i>swop</i> ( <i>sūəp</i> )	soap
tōde	<i>twod</i> ( <i>tūəd</i> )	toad.

\* Note: "The one" is however *t'ōn*.

IV. There still remain a number of forms with peculiar developments.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cōle	<i>koil(kūəl)</i>	coal
hōle	<i>oil</i>	hole
gō	<i>gū (gūə)</i>	go
gōn	<i>gun</i>	gone
shōn	<i>šun</i>	shone
sōry	<i>sūri</i>	sorry
pōs	<i>đūz(đūəz)</i>	those.

Note: The forms "*koil*" and "*oil*" are probably importations from the neighbouring West Riding of Yorkshire. Cp. Wright § 109.

## B. French Sources.

clōse	<i>tlūəs (tlūs)</i>	close	rōste	<i>rūəst</i>	roast
cōt	<i>kūət</i> ( <i>kwot</i> )	coat	tōste	<i>tūəst</i>	toast.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 28.

1. ME.  $\bar{q} + l$  before *d* = *au*  
in OD.

behōlde	<i>bihaud</i>	behold
bōld	<i>baud</i>	bold
fōld	<i>faut</i>	fold
gōld	<i>gaud</i> ( <i>gūld</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	gold
gōlden	<i>gaudn</i> ( <i>gūldn</i> )	golden
hōlde	<i>haud</i>	hold
ōld	<i>aud</i>	old

sōld	<i>saud</i>	sold
tōld	<i>taud</i>	told.

2. ME.  $\bar{q} + r$  mostly follows the general rule becoming *ūər*.

bifōren	<i>bifūər</i> ( <i>bifōər</i> )	before
glōrie	<i>dlūəri</i>	glory
hōrse	<i>ūər's</i>	hoarse
mōre	<i>mūər</i>	more
rōre	<i>rūə</i>	roar
sōr	<i>sūər</i>	sore.

<sup>1</sup> From ME. *gōld*.

But ME.  $\bar{o}$  is retained in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
b $\bar{o}$ ren	b $\bar{o}$ <sup>r</sup> n	born
bif $\bar{o}$ ren	bif $\bar{o}$ <sup>r</sup> (bif $\bar{u}$ <sup>r</sup> )	before

ME.	OD.	NE.
l $\bar{o}$ rd	l $\bar{o}$ rd	lord
$\bar{o}$ ver	$\bar{o}$ <sup>r</sup> ( $\bar{u}$ <sup>r</sup> )	over
sw $\bar{o}$ ren	sw $\bar{o}$ <sup>r</sup> n	sworn.

## $\bar{o}$ .

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

#### § 29.

ME.  $\bar{o}$  becomes  $\bar{u}$  in the OD.  
as in the lit. language.

##### 1. a) ME. $\bar{o}$ = OE. $\bar{o}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
br $\bar{o}$ m	br $\bar{u}$ m	broom
c $\bar{o}$ l	k $\bar{u}$ l	cool
d $\bar{o}$ m	d $\bar{u}$ m	doom
d $\bar{o}$ n	d $\bar{u}$	do
f $\bar{o}$ de	f $\bar{u}$ d	food
gl $\bar{o}$ m	gl $\bar{u}$ m	gloom
g $\bar{o}$ me	g $\bar{u}$ ms	gums
g $\bar{o}$ s	g $\bar{u}$ s	goose
h $\bar{o}$ f	h $\bar{u}$ f	hoof
m $\bar{o}$ d	m $\bar{u}$ d	mood
m $\bar{o}$ der	m $\bar{u}$ d <sup>r</sup> (m $\bar{u}$ d <sup>r</sup> )	mother
m $\bar{o}$ ne	m $\bar{u}$ n (m $\bar{u}$ <sup>n</sup> )	moon
n $\bar{o}$ n	n $\bar{u}$ n	noon
p $\bar{o}$ l	p $\bar{u}$	pool
pr $\bar{o}$ ve	pr $\bar{u}$ v	prove
r $\bar{o}$ de	r $\bar{u}$ d	rood
r $\bar{o}$ f	r $\bar{u}$ f	roof
r $\bar{o}$ te	r $\bar{u}$ t	root
sc $\bar{o}$ le	sk $\bar{u}$	school
sch $\bar{o}$	š $\bar{u}$	shoe
sm $\bar{o}$ the	sm $\bar{u}$ t	smooth
s $\bar{o}$ ne	s $\bar{u}$ n	soon

ME.	OD.	NE.
st $\bar{o}$ l	st $\bar{u}$	stool
t $\bar{o}$	t $\bar{u}$	too
t $\bar{o}$ l	t $\bar{u}$ l	tool.

Note: The form  $g\bar{u}$  may also originate in an old ME.  $g\bar{o}$ , cf. Luick §§ 143, 144.

##### b) ME. $\bar{o}$ = OE. $\bar{a}$ .

wh $\bar{o}$	h $\bar{u}$	who
hw $\bar{o}$ m	h $\bar{u}$ m	whom
w $\bar{o}$ mbe	w $\bar{u}$ m	womb.

Note: This change of OE.  $\bar{a}$  to ME.  $\bar{o}$  is due to the influence of the preceding  $w$ .

##### 2. In a few Words ME. $\bar{o}$ = OD. $\bar{u}$ .

h $\bar{u}$ $\bar{o}$ s	(h) $\bar{u}$ <sup>a</sup> z	whose
m $\bar{o}$ ne	m $\bar{u}$ <sup>n</sup> (m $\bar{u}$ n)	moon
sp $\bar{o}$ n	sp $\bar{u}$ <sup>n</sup>	spoon
t $\bar{o}$ th	t $\bar{u}$ <sup>a</sup> p	tooth.

Note: This may be sound-substitution for the Yorkshire  $\bar{u}$ i in these words, cp. Wright § 163.

3. In the following words there is fluctuation between  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{u}$  for ME.  $\bar{o}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
bōk	<i>būk</i>	book	cōk	<i>kūk</i>	cook
brōk	<i>brūk</i>	brook	hōc	<i>hūk</i>	hook
			lōke	<i>lūk</i>	look
			mōder	<i>mūdār</i>	mother
			sōt	<i>sūt</i>	soot
			tōke	<i>tūk</i>	took.

## B. French Sources.

ME. $\bar{o}$ = French. <i>o</i> .					
aprōve	<i>apruv</i>	approve	fōl	<i>fū</i>	fool
			mōve	<i>mūv</i>	move.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 30.

ME. $\bar{o} + r = \bar{u}r$ .					
flōr	<i>flūr</i>	floor	mōr	<i>mūr</i>	moor
dōr- (duru) <sup>1</sup>	<i>dūr (dār)</i>	door	pōvre	<i>pūr</i>	poor.

## $\bar{u}$ .

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

### § 31.

ME. $\bar{u} = eu$ in the OD.					
1. ME. $\bar{u} = OE. \bar{u}$ .			ME.	OD.	NE.
ME.	OD.	NE.	hound	<i>heunt</i>	hound
adoun	<i>deun</i>	down	hous	<i>heus</i>	house
būwe	<i>bēu</i>	bow (vb)	how	<i>heu</i>	how
brow	<i>breu</i>	brow	loud	<i>leud</i>	loud
brown	<i>breun</i>	brown	lous	<i>leus</i>	louse
cloude	<i>kleud</i>	cloud	mous	<i>meus</i>	mouse
clout	<i>kleut</i>	rag, blow	now	<i>neū</i>	now
cū	<i>keu</i>	cow	out	<i>eut</i>	out
drought	<i>dreut</i>	drought	oule	<i>eul</i>	owl
foul	<i>feū</i>	foul	pound	<i>peund</i> ( <i>pun(d)</i> )	pound
ground	<i>greund</i> ( <i>grun</i> )	ground	schroud	<i>šreud</i>	shroud
			south	<i>seup</i>	south

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Luick, Untersuchungen, § 383 ff.

ME.	OD.	NE.
thou	<i>ðeu</i> (stressed) <i>ða</i> (unstr)	} thou
thousand	<i>þeusant</i>	
toun	<i>tēun</i>	thousand
withouten	<i>wiðeut</i>	town
		without.

2. ME. <i>ū</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> before h.		
ME.	OD.	NE.
bough	<i>bēu</i>	bough
plough	<i>plēu</i>	plough.
3. ME. <i>ū</i> = OE. <i>ū</i> + <i>z</i> .		
foul	<i>fēul</i>	fowl
suze	<i>sēu</i>	sow.

## B. French Sources.

1. ME. *ū* = AFr. *u* (*o*)  
before nasal.

amounte	<i>ameunt</i>	amount
bounde	<i>bēundəri</i>	boundary
count	<i>kēunt</i>	count
counte	<i>kēunti</i>	county
crūne	<i>krēun</i> ( <i>krūn</i> )	crown
fount	<i>fēuntin</i>	fountain
goun	<i>gēun</i>	gown
mountaine	<i>mēuntin</i>	mountain
ounce	<i>ēuns</i>	ounce
round	<i>rēund</i>	round.

Note: The form *krūn* = crown,  
is derived direct from the Latin  
*corona*.

2. ME. *ū* = Fr. *ou*.

aloue	<i>aleu</i>	allow
couche	<i>kētš</i>	couch
doute	<i>dēt</i>	doubt
poudre	<i>pēuder</i> <i>peudār</i>	} powder
route	<i>rēt</i>	
		rout.

## C. Scandinavian Sources.

Sc. *ū* = ME. *ū* = OD. *eu*  
and *euə* before *r*.

boun	<i>bēun</i>	bound
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drūpen	<i>drēup</i>	droop
coure	<i>kēuər</i>	cower, sit down.

## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 32.

ME. *ū* + *r* gives a triph-  
thong *euər*.

bour	<i>bēuər</i>	bower
couard	<i>keuər</i> <sup>d</sup>	coward
coure	<i>kēuər</i>	sit down
devouren	<i>divēuər</i>	devour
flour	<i>fleuər</i> ( <i>flār</i> )	flower

flour	<i>fleuər</i>	flour
houre	<i>euər</i>	hour
pouér	<i>pēuər</i>	power
schour	<i>šeuər</i>	shower
tour	<i>tēuər</i>	tower.

Note 1. Observe however:

flour	<i>flār</i> ( <i>fleuər</i> )	flower.
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Note 2. In cases where literary English has  $\bar{u}$ , the OD. has also  $e\bar{u}$  (before labial consonants).

ME.	OD.	NE.
drūpen	<i>drēup</i>	droop
roum	<i>rēum</i>	room
stoupe	<i>steup</i>	stoop

ME.	OD.	NE.
toumbe	<i>teum</i> ( <i>tōm</i> )	} tomb
wounde	<i>wēund</i>	
		wound (sb).

Cp. Luick, *Anglia* 16, 501, and for *wound* cp. Horn, *Unters.*, p. 34.

## $\bar{u}$ .

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

#### § 33.

ME.  $\bar{u}$  < OE.  $\bar{y}$  always became  $\bar{r}$  (cp. § 25, 2) during the ME. period (cf. also  $\bar{u}$  >  $i$  § 7b) but:

#### B. French Sources.

ME.  $\bar{u}$  = French *u* and *ui* has been mostly retained as  $j\bar{u}$  or  $\bar{u}$  in the OD.

I. ME.  $\bar{u}$  = Fr. *u*.

a) = OD.  $j\bar{u}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
accūse	<i>akjūz</i>	scuse
amūsen	<i>amjūz</i>	amuse
dūc	<i>djū</i>	due
dūke	<i>djūk</i>	duke
excūsen	<i>ekskjūz</i>	excuse
jūse, jūce	<i>džjūs</i> ( <i>džūs</i> )	juice
mūsike	<i>mjūzik</i>	musice
prūdence	<i>prjūdāns</i> ( <i>prūdāns</i> )	prudence
refūsen	<i>rīfjūz</i>	refuse
rūde	<i>rjūd</i> ( <i>rūd</i> )	rude
ūs	<i>jūs</i>	use.

b) = OD.  $\bar{u}$  after *r, š, dž*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
jūse, jūce	<i>džūs</i> ( <i>džjūs</i> )	juice
prūdence	<i>prūdāns</i> ( <i>prjūdāns</i> )	prudence
rūde	<i>rūd</i> ( <i>rjūd</i> )	rude
sūgre	<i>šūgər</i> ( <i>šugər</i> )	sugar
crūél	<i>krūil</i>	cruel.

c) = OD.  $e\bar{u}$ .

glūe	<i>dlēu</i>	glue.
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d) = OD. *u*.

sūgre	<i>šugər</i> ( <i>šūgər</i> )	sugar.
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ME. *ū* = OFr. *ūi*.

a) = OD. *jū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fruit (frūt)	<i>frjūt</i> ( <i>frūt</i> )	fruit
nūisaunce	<i>njūsans</i>	nuisance
pūe	<i>pjū</i>	pew
pursūe	<i>pəʳsjū</i> ( <i>pəʳsū</i> )	pursue
sūite, seūte	<i>sjūt</i> ( <i>sūt</i> )	suit.

b) = OD. *ū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fruit (frūt)	<i>frūt</i> ( <i>frjūt</i> )	fruit
pursūe	<i>pəʳsū</i> ( <i>pəʳsjū</i> )	pursue
sūite, seūte	<i>sūt</i> ( <i>sjūt</i> )	suit.

## Diphthongs.

### *ai* (*ei*).

#### 1. Spontaneous Development.

##### A. English Sources.

##### § 34.

ME. *ai* (*ei*) has two developments in words of English origin: *ē* before unvoiced consonants, *ēi* before voiced consonants or when final.

1. ME. *ai* (*ei*) = OE. *ē* (*ǣ*)

+ 3.

ME.	OD.	NE.
clai	<i>tlei</i>	clay
dai	<i>dēi</i> ( <i>dī</i> )	day
daies-īe	<i>dēizi</i>	daisy.
gray, grey	<i>grēi</i>	grey
hey	<i>ēi</i>	hay
keie	<i>kēi</i>	key

ME.	OD.	NE.
mai	<i>mēi</i>	may
maide	<i>mēiden</i>	maiden
nail	<i>nēil</i>	nail
nēie	<i>nēi</i>	to neigh
plaie, pleie	<i>plēi</i>	play
rain, rein	<i>rēin</i>	rain
sail, seil	<i>sēil</i>	sail
sain, sein	<i>sēi</i>	say
way; wey, wei.	<i>wēi</i>	way.

2. ME. *ei* before *ght* (*e* + *ght* = *ei*).

eight	<i>ēt</i>	eight
weight	<i>wēt</i>	weight.

##### B. French Sources.

ME. *ai* (*ei*) = *e* before unvoiced consonants, *ēi* before voiced consonants and final as above.

claime	<i>tlēim</i>	claim
compleine	<i>komplēin</i>	complain

delaye	<i>dilēi</i>	delay
faile	<i>fēil</i>	fail
feint	<i>fēint</i>	faint
maintene	<i>mēintēin</i>	maintain
obeien	<i>obēi</i>	obey
paie	<i>pēi</i>	pay

ME.	OD.	NE.	The development is still the same before Dentals where the lit. language has $\bar{i}$ .		
painte	<i>pē<sup>i</sup>nt</i>	paint	ME.	OD.	NE.
peine	<i>pē<sup>i</sup>n</i>	pain	eise	<i>ē<sup>i</sup>z</i>	ease
plain	<i>plē<sup>i</sup>n</i> ( <i>plīn</i> )	plain	pais	<i>pēs</i>	peace
preie	<i>prē<sup>i</sup></i>	pray	treiten	<i>trēt</i>	treat.
rail, reil	<i>rē<sup>i</sup>l</i>	rail	Note: Sometimes the $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{e}^i$ is shortened.		
reine	<i>rē<sup>i</sup>n</i>	rein			
veile	<i>vē<sup>i</sup>l</i>	veil			
waite	<i>wēt</i>	wait.			

### C. Scandinavian Sources.

greiþ-līc	<i>grē<sup>i</sup>dli</i>	properly, suitable	Luick, Arch. CVIII p. 327 ff. and Björkman 298):		
nai	<i>nē<sup>i</sup></i>	nay	faik	<i>fē<sup>i</sup>k</i>	fake
thei, they	<i>ðē<sup>i</sup></i>	they.	kaiken	<i>kē<sup>i</sup>k</i>	to upset
Also ME. <i>ei</i> + <i>k</i> where the literary language has $\bar{i}$ < $\bar{e}$ (cp.			leik, laik	<i>lē<sup>i</sup>k</i>	to play
			stayke	<i>stē<sup>i</sup>k</i>	steak
			weik, waik	<i>wē<sup>i</sup>k</i>	weak.

Note: ME. *ai*, *ei* (from various sources) >  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{i}a$ .

chaine	<i>tš<sup>i</sup>en</i> ( <i>tšen</i> )	chain	leide	<i>līd</i>	laid
dai	<i>dī</i> ( <i>dē<sup>i</sup></i> )	day	lezen	<i>līn</i>	lain
leie	<i>lī</i>	lay	plain	<i>plīn</i> ( <i>plē<sup>i</sup>n</i> )	plain.

### 2. Development in Combination.

#### § 35.

ME. <i>ai</i> ( <i>ei</i> ) + <i>r</i> = $\bar{a}^r$ .					
afeire	<i>afā<sup>r</sup></i>	affair	feire	<i>fā<sup>r</sup></i>	fair
chaire	<i>tšā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>tšīā<sup>r</sup></i> )	chair	maire	<i>mā(ə)<sup>r</sup></i>	mayor
deierie	<i>dā<sup>r</sup>i</i> ( <i>dā<sup>i</sup>ri</i> )	dairy	peir	<i>pā<sup>r</sup></i>	pair
			steir	<i>stā<sup>r</sup>z</i> ( <i>stīā<sup>r</sup>z</i> )	stairs
			theire	<i>dā<sup>r</sup></i>	their.

## *au.*

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

##### § 36.

ME. *au* appears in the OD.  
as  $\bar{q}$ .

1. ME. *au* = OE. *a* +  $\mathfrak{z}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
drawe	<i>dr̄q</i>	draw
gnawe	<i>n̄q</i>	gnaw
hawe + þorn	<i>q̄þōʳn</i>	hawthorn

ME.	OD.	NE.
lawe	<i>l̄q</i>	law
sawe	<i>s̄q</i>	saw.

2. ME. *au* = OE. *a, ea* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
raw	<i>r̄q</i>	raw
thawe	<i>þ̄q</i>	thaw.

#### B. French Sources.

1. ME. *au* = Fr. *au*.

auter	<i>q̄teʳ</i>	altar
autour	<i>q̄þ̄ʳ</i>	author
autumpne	<i>q̄t̄am</i>	autumn
cause	<i>k̄q̄z</i>	cause.

2. ME. *au* (*a*) = Fr *a* +  
Nasal >  $\bar{q}$ .

avauntage	<i>adv̄q̄ntid̄ž</i>	advantage
aunt	<i>q̄nt</i> ( <i>ēʳnt</i> )	aunt
braunche	<i>br̄q̄ntš</i>	branch
change	<i>tš̄q̄nd̄ž*</i>	change
dauncen	<i>d̄q̄ns</i> ( <i>dains</i> )	dance
daunger	<i>d̄q̄nd̄ž̄ʳ*</i>	danger
straunge	<i>str̄q̄nd̄ž̄*</i>	strange.

\* Note: These forms sometimes  
appear with  $\bar{o}$ .

3. In other cases *au* + *nd̄ž*  
has given *aind̄ž* (cp. Luick, *Anglia*  
16, p. 480):

aungel	<i>aind̄žel</i>	angel
araungen	<i>araind̄ž</i>	arrange.

4. The following French words  
have  $\bar{o}$  for *a(u)*.

auncestres	<i>onseteʳz</i>	ancestors
braunche	<i>brontš</i> ( <i>br̄q̄ntš</i> )	branch
chaump- ioun	<i>tš̄ompj̄an</i>	champion
chaunce	<i>tš̄ons</i>	chance
dauncen	<i>dons</i> ( <i>dains</i> , <i>d̄q̄ns</i> )	dance
graunt	<i>gron</i>	grant
laumpe	<i>lomp</i>	lamp.



## 2. Development in Combination.

### § 37.

1. ME. *au* before *ght* = *au*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aught	<i>aut</i>	aught
draught	<i>draut</i>	draught
naught	<i>naut</i>	naught
naughty	<i>nauti</i>	naughty
slaughter	<i>slautər</i>	slaughter.

*gh* > *f* in the form *lauf* or *lēif* = "laugh" (ME. *laughen*, OE. *hlahhan* (cp. Luick, "Anglia" 16, p. 474 and 492 ff.).

2. ME. *au* before *f*, *v* = *ē* or *ē<sup>i</sup>*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
sauf	<i>sē<sup>i</sup>f</i>	safe
sauve	<i>sē<sup>i</sup>v</i>	save.

Note: also *lē<sup>i</sup>f* = *laugh* < ME. *lauzhe* < OE. *hlæhhan*; cp. Horn, Unters. p. 18.

3. ME. *au* = *a*, however, in:

sauvage	<i>savidž</i>	savage.
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## *ou.*

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### § 38.

ME. *ou* (*ōw*) = *ō*.

1. ME. *ou* (*ōw*) = OE. *ēo* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blōwe, blēwe	<i>blō</i>	blow

Note:  $\left. \begin{array}{l} jō \\ \text{(stressed)} \\ jō \\ \text{(unstressed)} \end{array} \right\} \text{you.}$

2. ME. *ou* (*ōw*) = OE. *ō* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
flōwe	<i>flō</i>	flow
rōwe	<i>rō</i>	row

Note:  $\left. \begin{array}{l} grōwe \\ grū \end{array} \right\} \text{grow.}$

### 2. Development in Combination.

#### § 39.

ME. *ōu* + *r* = *ōər*.

four	<i>fōər</i>	four
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Note:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(ēower)} \\ yūre \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} jō<sup>r</sup> \text{(unstr)} \\ jōər \\ \text{(stressed)} \end{array} \right\} \text{your.}$

## QU.

### 1 Spontaneous Development.

#### § 40.

I. ME. *qu* = OD. *ō*.

1. ME. *qu* (*qw*) = OE. *a* + *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bl <sub>ō</sub> we	bl <sub>ō</sub>	blow
cr <sub>ō</sub> we	kr <sub>ō</sub>	crow
kn <sub>ō</sub> we	n <sub>ō</sub>	know
sl <sub>ō</sub> w	sl <sub>ō</sub>	slow
sn <sub>ō</sub> w	sn <sub>ō</sub> (sn <sub>ū</sub> )	snow
s <sub>ō</sub> we	s <sub>ō</sub>	sow
thr <sub>ō</sub> we	þr <sub>ō</sub>	throw.

2. ME. *qu* (*qw*) = OE. *ā* + *z*.

q <sub>ō</sub> wen	q <sub>ō</sub> n	own.
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3. ME. *qu* (*qw*) = OE. *ǫ* + *z*.

b <sub>ō</sub> we	b <sub>ō</sub>	bow.
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II. ME. *qu* = OD. *au* in the following.

ME.	OD.	NE.
l <sub>ō</sub> w	lau	low
m <sub>ō</sub> we	mau (m <sub>ū</sub> , muf)	mow
s <sub>ō</sub> ule	saul	soul.

III. ME. *qu* = *ū* in the following.

m <sub>ō</sub> we	m <sub>ū</sub> (mau, mow muf)
sn <sub>ō</sub> we	sn <sub>ū</sub> (sn <sub>ō</sub> ) snow.

### 2. Development in Combination.

#### § 41.

1. ME. *qu* + *gh* = *auf*.

c <sub>ō</sub> ughe	kauf	cough
d <sub>ō</sub> ugh	dauf	dough
t <sub>ō</sub> ugh	tauf	tough
tr <sub>ō</sub> ugh	trauf	trough.

2. ME. *qu* + *ght* = *aut*.

(= OE. *oh*).

b <sub>ō</sub> ugthe	baut	bought
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br <sub>ō</sub> ught	braut	brought
d <sub>ō</sub> ughter	daut <sub>er</sub>	daughter
dr <sub>ō</sub> ught	draut	drought
f <sub>ō</sub> ught	faut	fought
s <sub>ō</sub> ughte	saut	sought
th <sub>ō</sub> ughte	þaut	thought.

## *eu.*

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### § 42.

ME. *eu* = OD. *jū* or *ū*, after  
*d* = *džū*.

I. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēaw*.

a) = OD. *jū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
dēw	džū	dew
fēwe	fjū	few
hēwe	hjū	hew.

b) = OD. *ū*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
schrēwe	šrū	shrew.

c) = OD. *ō*.

schēwe (ou)	šō	show.
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II. ME. *eu* = OE. *cow* =

OD. *jū*.

ēwe	jū	ewe.
-----	----	------

## *eu.*

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### A. English Sources.

#### § 43.

ME. *eu* > OD. *eu*, *jū*, *ū*.

1. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēow*.

a) = OD. *eu*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
blēw	bleu	blew
brēwe	brēu (brū)	brew
chēwe	tšeu	chew
clēwe	tļeu	clue
grēw	grēu (grū)	grew
trēuthe	trēuþ	truth.

b) = OD. *jū*.

knēw	njū	knew
------	-----	------

ME. OD NE.

nēwe	njū	new
ēw	jū	yew.

c) = OD. *ū*, mostly after *r* as  
a byeform with *eu*.

brēwe	brū (brēu)	brew
grēw	grū (grēu)	grew
rēwe	rū	rue.

2. ME. *eu* = OE. *īw* =

OD. *jū*.

spēwe	spjū	spew.
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#### B. French Sources.

1. ME. *eu* = Fr. *eu* = OD.  
*eu* and *ū*.

a) = OD. *eu*.

blēw	bleu	blue
rēule	rēul	rule.

b) = OD. *ū* after *r*.

Hebrēu	ībrū	Hebrew.
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2. ME. *ēu* = Fr. *iu* =

OD. *ū*.

Jēw	Džū	Jew.
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## *oi (ui).*

### 1. Spontaneous Development.

#### § 44.

Nearly all the words in *oi (ui)* in ME. come from Old French. In the OD. this sound is represented either by *oi* or *ai*. Cp. Luick, "Anglia" 14, 294 ff.

#### A. French Sources.

##### 1. ME. *oi (ui)* = Fr. *oi (ui)*.

a) = OD. <i>oi</i> .		
ME.	OD.	NE.
anoye,	<i>anoi</i>	annoy
anuye		
apointen	<i>apoint</i>	appoint
avoide	<i>avoid</i>	avoid
coin	<i>koin</i>	coin
coi	<i>koi</i>	coy
emploien	<i>imploi</i>	employ
joie	<i>džoi</i>	joy
moiste	<i>moist</i>	moist
oinement	<i>ointmēt</i>	ointment
poise, peise	<i>poiz</i>	to kick
rejoissen	<i>ridžois</i>	rejoice
toilen	<i>toil</i>	toil (vb).

##### b) = OD. *oi* or *ai*.

broile	<i>broil, brail</i>	broil
choise	<i>tšois, tšeis</i>	choice
disapointen	<i>dizapoint</i> <i>dizapoint</i>	disappoint
destruien	<i>distroi</i> <i>distræi</i>	
joint	<i>dzoint,</i> <i>dzaint</i>	joint

ME.	OD.	NE.
noise	<i>noiz, nāiz</i>	noise
oile	<i>oil, ail</i>	oil
oistre	<i>oistər,</i> <i>aisdər</i>	oyster
point	<i>point,</i> <i>paint</i>	point
spoile	<i>spail</i>	spoil
vois	<i>vois, vais</i>	voice.

##### c) = OD. *ai*.

boile, boyle	<i>bail</i>	boil
joine	<i>dzain</i>	join
puisoun	<i>pāizn</i>	poison.

##### 2. ME. *oi* from other French Sources.

##### OD. *oi* or *ai*.

loine	<i>loin, lāin</i>	loin
(OF. logne, MF. longe)		
soile	<i>soil, sæil</i>	soil (sb).
(OF. soel, MF. sueil)		

#### B. ME. *oi* from Non-French Sources.

boie	<i>boi</i>	boy	loiteren	<i>loitər</i>	loiter.
boistrous	<i>boistərəs</i>	boisterous			

C. OD. *oi* from Unknown Sources.

ME.	OD.	NE.	ME.	OD.	NE.
	<i>boi</i>	buoy		<i>toi</i>	toy.
	<i>foist, fæist</i>	to stink <sup>1</sup>			

SECTION II.

THE SHORTENING IN THE OLDHAM DIALECT OF ME.  
LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

*e.*

§ 45.

1. ME. *e* has been shortened during the ME. period in the following.

a) ME. *e* = OE. *æ* and *ē*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
edder	<i>eddæ</i>	adder
het	<i>het</i>	named
leste	<i>les</i>	lest.

b) ME. *e* = OE. *ēa*.

bet	<i>bet</i>	} beaten
	<i>(bjet)</i>	
flē-	<i>flek</i>	} flea
	<i>(fleik)</i>	
shrede	<i>šred</i>	shred.

c) ME. = OE. *ēo*.

bent	<i>bent</i>	coarse grass.
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2. ME. *ē* = OE. *ēa* (*ai* + *i*, *j*) = shortened OD. *ē*.

chēp	<i>tšep(tšēap)</i>	cheap
drēm	<i>drem</i>	dream
	<i>(drīam)</i>	
lēd	<i>led</i>	lead (sb)

ME.	OD.	NE.
rēd	<i>red</i>	red
prēt	<i>pret</i>	threat.

3. ME. *ē* = OE. *æ* (*ai* + *i*, *j*).

clēne	<i>tlen(tlīan)</i>	clean
rēdi	<i>redi</i>	ready.

4. Also the following ME. *ē* from French Sources.

fēsaunt	<i>feznt</i>	pheasant
plēse	<i>plez(plīez)</i>	please
plēsüre	<i>plezæ</i>	pleasure
rēsoun	<i>rezn</i>	reason.

5. ME. *ē* = OE. *ēo* = OD. *ē*.

brēt	<i>brēt</i>	breast
frēnd	<i>frend</i>	friend.

6. ME. *ē* — *ē* = OE. *æ* from. W. G. *ā* = OD. *ē*.

drēde	<i>dred</i>	dread.
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7. ME. *ē* (Medium *e*) = OE. *ē* in open syllables = OD. *ē* (perhaps OE. *ē* preserved).

frēte	<i>fret</i>	fret
knēde	<i>ned(nīed)</i>	knead.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. NED., and Horn, Untersuchungen, p. 91.

I.

§ 46.

ME.  $\bar{i}$  =  $\bar{i}$  in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
Whītstāre	<i>hwitstær</i>	bleacher
wīnberi	<i>wimbri</i>	bilberry
hwītsundei	<i>Wissæn</i>	Whit-sunday.

Note: OE.  $\bar{ic}$  = ME.  $\bar{i}$  has a special development in the OD., having become  $\bar{q}$  in accented and  $\bar{a}$  in unaccented positions.

Q.

§ 47.

ME.  $\bar{q}$  has been shortened to  $o$  in the following.

ME.	OD.	NE.
*br $\bar{q}$ ken	<i>brok(n)</i>	broken
c $\bar{q}$ mb	<i>kom</i>	comb
h $\bar{q}$ lidāi	<i>holidi</i>	holiday

ME.	OD.	NE.
* $\bar{q}$ pen	<i>opn</i>	open
*sp $\bar{q}$ ken	<i>spokn</i>	spoken
t $\bar{q}$ ken	<i>tokn</i>	token
*(weven)	<i>wov(n)</i>	woven.
w $\bar{q}$ ven		

\* Original  $\bar{o}$  seems to be preserved in above.

O.

§ 48.

1. ME.  $\bar{o}$  >  $\bar{u}$  has been shortened to  $\bar{u}$  in the following (cp. also § 29, 3).

ME.	OD.	NE.
bl $\bar{o}$ d	<i>blud</i>	blood
b $\bar{o}$ sum	<i>buzm</i>	bosom
br $\bar{o}$ ðer	<i>bruðær</i>	brother
d $\bar{o}$ n	<i>dun (dun)</i>	done
fl $\bar{o}$ d	<i>flud</i>	flood
g $\bar{o}$ d	<i>gud</i>	good
gl $\bar{o}$ ve	<i>dluv</i>	glove

ME.	OD.	NE.
h $\bar{o}$ d	<i>hud</i>	hood
st $\bar{o}$ d	<i>stud</i>	stood
tw $\bar{o}$ pens	<i>tupens</i>	twopence.

2. ME.  $\bar{o}$  has been shortened to  $\bar{o}$  (in the ME. period) in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
$\bar{o}$ ther	<i>odær</i>	other
M $\bar{o}$ nendai	<i>Mondi</i>	Monday
fodder	<i>fodær</i>	fodder.

ū.

§ 49.

ME. *ū* has been shortened to *u* in the following (before *m*, *n* and *ŋ* = *u*).

ME.	OD.	NE.
croume	<i>krum</i>	crumb
crūnen	<i>krunæ</i> ( <i>krunær</i> )	coroner
dūke	<i>duk</i>	duck
dūve	<i>duv</i>	dove
grūnd	<i>grun</i> ( <i>greund</i> )	ground
hūswif	<i>huzi</i>	hussy
ploume	<i>plum</i>	plum

ME.	OD.	NE.
pouke	<i>puk</i>	puck
schouve	<i>šuv</i>	shove
scūm	<i>skum</i>	scum
souke	<i>suk</i>	suck
sūpen	<i>sup</i>	sup-, drink
pūme	<i>pum</i>	thumb
ūle + let	<i>ulært</i>	owlet.

Note: ME. *ū* has been preserved as *ū* in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
rough	<i>rūf</i>	rough
inough	<i>ənūf</i>	enough.

*ai (ei).*

§ 50.

In the following words ME. *ai (ei)* has been shortened to *e*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
agein	<i>ægen</i>	again
ageinest	<i>ægen</i>	against

ME.	OD.	NE.
chaine	<i>tšen(tšīan)</i>	chain
plaise	<i>plez</i>	please
saide	<i>sed</i>	said
seies	<i>sez</i>	says.

SECTION III.

SUMMARY OF THE ME. VOWELS IN COMBINATION.

I. Vowels before *l*.

§ 51.

1. Before *l* final.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>a</i> > <i>ō</i> ( <i>l</i> dropped).		
al	<i>ō</i>	all.
<i>o</i> > <i>ou</i> ( <i>l</i> dropped).		
tol	<i>ou</i>	toll.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>u</i> > <i>ū</i> ( <i>l</i> dropped).		
ful	<i>fū</i>	full.
<i>ǣ</i> > <i>au</i> .		
sōle	<i>saul</i>	sole.

Note: For *ǣ* > *oi* cp. § 27, IV.

2. Before *l* + Consonant.

a) Before *ld*.

*u* > *ū* with dropping of *l*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
schulder	<i>šūdā<sup>r</sup></i> , <i>šūdā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>šildē<sup>r</sup></i> )	shoulder.

*ō* > *au* with dropping of *l*.

bōld	<i>baud</i>	bold.
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b) Before *lt*.

*a* > *ō* with dropping of *l*.

faltren	<i>fōter</i>	falter.
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*o* > *ou* with dropping of *l*.

bolt	<i>bout</i>	bolt.
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*u* > *ū* with dropping of *l*.

culter	<i>kūter</i>	plough- share.
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c) Before *lk*.

*a* > *ō* (*l* dropped).

balk	<i>bōk</i>	log of timber.
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*o* > *ō* (*l* dropped).

ME.	OD.	NE.
folc	<i>fōk</i> ( <i>fok</i> )	folk.

Note: *u* remains *u*.

hulke	<i>ulk</i>	hulk.
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d) Before *ls*.

*a* > *ō* with dropping of *l*

fals	<i>fōs</i>	false.
------	------------	--------

*o* > *ou* with dropping of *l*.

bolster	<i>boustā<sup>r</sup></i>	bolster.
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e) Before *lf*.

*a* > *ō* with dropping of *l*.

calf	<i>kōv</i>	calf.
------	------------	-------

f) Before *lm*.

*a* > *ō* with dropping of *fl*.

halm	<i>hōm</i>	handle of an axe.
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II. Vowels before *r*.

[*ar* > *ā<sup>r</sup>*.]

dar	<i>dā<sup>r</sup></i>	dare.
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*er* > *ē<sup>r</sup>*, *ē<sup>r</sup>*, *ā<sup>r</sup>*.

hert	<i>hē<sup>r</sup>t</i>	heart
gers	<i>gē<sup>r</sup>s</i>	grass
lernen	<i>lā<sup>r</sup>n</i>	learn.

*ir* > a) *ē<sup>r</sup>* in closed syllables.

wirchen	<i>wē<sup>r</sup>tš</i>	work (vb).
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> b) *ā<sup>r</sup>* (rare).

kirnel	<i>kā<sup>r</sup>nel</i>	kernel.
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*or* > a) *ō<sup>r</sup>*.

ord	<i>ō<sup>r</sup>ts</i>	broken victuals.
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> b) *ā<sup>r</sup>*.

corn	<i>kā<sup>r</sup>n</i>	corn.
------	------------------------	-------

*ur* > *ūr*.

burre	<i>būr</i>	a sticky plant.
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*ār* > *ār* (very long).

hāre	<i>hār</i>	hare.
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*ēr* (OE. *ē* [*ō* + *i, j*]) > a) *īār*.

wēriž	<i>wīārī</i>	weary.
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> b) *ēār*.

wēry	<i>wēārī</i>	weary.
------	--------------	--------

*ēr* (OE. *ē* = WG. final) > *īār*.

hēre	<i>īār</i>	here.
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*ēr* (OE. *ēo*) > *īār*.

bēr	<i>bīār</i>	bear.
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*ēr* before Consonant (Fr.) > *īār*.

fērs	<i>fīār<sup>s</sup></i>	fierce.
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<i>ēr</i> final (Fr.) > a) <i>aiər</i> .		
ME.	OD.	NE.
quēr	<i>kwaier</i>	choir.
b) <i>īər</i> .		
chēre	<i>tšīər</i>	cheer.
<i>ēr</i> ( <i>ē</i> -- <i>ē</i> ) (= WG. <i>ā</i> ).		
a) > <i>īər</i> .		
bēre	<i>bīər</i>	bier.
b) > <i>ər</i> .		
wēre	<i>wər</i> ( <i>wīər</i> )	were.
<i>ēr</i> (Medium <i>ē</i> ).		
a) > <i>īər</i> .		
schēre	<i>šīər</i>	shear.
b) > <i>ēər</i> .		
bēre	<i>bēər</i>	bear (sb).
c) > <i>ər</i> .		
pēre	<i>pər</i> ( <i>pēər</i> )	pear.

<i>īr</i> > <i>aiər</i> or <i>aiər</i> .		
ME.	OD.	NE.
fīr	<i>faiər</i>	fire.
<i>ōr</i> > a) <i>ūər</i> .		
mōre	<i>mūər</i>	more.
> b) <i>ōr</i> , <i>ōər</i> (scarce).		
bōren	<i>bōrn</i>	born.
<i>ōr</i> > <i>ūər</i> .		
flōr	<i>flūər</i>	floor.
<i>ūr</i> > <i>ēūr</i> .		
flour	<i>fleuər</i> ( <i>flər</i> )	flower.
<i>air</i> ( <i>eir</i> ) > <i>ər</i> ( <i>īər</i> ).		
steir	<i>stər</i> z ( <i>stīər</i> z)	stairs.
<i>our</i> > <i>ōər</i> .		
four	<i>fōər</i>	four.

### III. Vowels before *m*, *n*, *ŋ*.

<i>a</i> > <i>o</i> (except when <i>w</i> precedes).		
ram	<i>rom</i>	ram
man	<i>mon</i>	man
ranc	<i>ronk</i>	rank.
<i>o</i> > <i>u</i> before <i>ŋ</i> .		
belongen	<i>bilunŋ</i>	belong.

<i>au</i> > <i>ai</i> before <i>ndž</i> .		
aungel	<i>aindžel</i>	angel.
<i>e</i> > <i>i</i> before <i>ŋg</i> , <i>ndž</i> .		
English	<i>inŋliš</i>	English
henge	<i>indž</i>	hinge.

### IV. Vowels before *gh*.

<i>au</i> > <i>ēi</i> .		
laughen	<i>lēif</i>	laugh.
<i>ou</i> > a) <i>au</i> , <i>ū</i> , <i>u</i> (with change of <i>gh</i> to <i>f</i> or loss thereof).		
tough	<i>tauf</i>	tough
rough	<i>rū</i> , <i>rūf</i>	rough
slough	<i>sluf</i> , <i>slau</i>	slough.

<i>o</i> > <i>ō</i> , <i>au</i> .		
trogh	<i>trōf</i> , <i>trauf</i>	trough.
<i>χt</i> > <i>īt</i> .		
bright	<i>brīt</i>	bright.
<i>quxt</i> > <i>aut</i> .		
fought	<i>faut</i>	fought.

### V. Vowels before *f*, *v*.

<i>au</i> > a) <i>ē</i> , <i>ēi</i> .		
sauf	<i>sēif</i>	safe.
sauve	<i>sēiv</i>	save.

> b) <i>a</i> .		
sauvage	<i>savidž</i>	savage.

## VI. Vowels before š.

<i>ai</i> > <i>ai</i> .		
ME.	OD.	NE.
dasshe	<i>daiš</i>	dash.
Note: For <i>e</i> < <i>a</i> before <i>š</i> cp.		
§ 4, 5.		
<i>i</i> > <i>ī</i> .		
fisch	<i>fīš</i>	fish.

Note: I have not come across the change *u* > *uī* before *š* noted by Hargreaves (§ 34, c, Note) in the OD.

<i>ü</i> > <i>u</i> .		
ME.	OD.	NE.
prüssche	<i>pruš</i>	thrush.

### Appendix to Chapter II.

## Sources of the Oldham Vowels.

### I. Short Vowels.

#### *a*.

#### § 52.

1. Oldham *a* mostly corresponds to ME. *a*.

#### 1. ME. *a*.

- OE. *a* (§ 3, A, a, 1) *arə* arrow, *ban* curse, *gam* game.
- OE. *æ* (§ 3, A, a, 2) *baliz* bellows, *daft* silly, *rafðar* rafter.
- OE. *ea* (§ 3, A, a, 3) *galəsiz* braces, *narə* narrow.
- OE. *ā* (§ 3, A, b) *aks* ask, *atðar* *krop* spider.
- OE. *æ* (§ 3, A, c) *ani* any, *ladðar* ladder, *mad* mad, angry.
- OE. *ēa* (§ 3, A, d) *tšap* chap, *tšafər* (to) haggle, *ladər* (*lodər*) lather.
- Scand. *a* (§ 3, B) *farəntli* handsomely, *kaŋk* (*koŋk*) a gossiping conversation.
- Celtic *a* (§ 3, C) *brat* coarse apron, *kamd* cross-tempered.
- French *a* (*ā*) in open syllables, unaccented in OFr. (AFr.) (§ 3, D, a) *barəl* barrel, *damidž* damage, *pariš* parish.
- French *a* (*ā*) in closed syllables unaccented in OFr. (AFr.), (§ 3, D, b) *katš* catch, *manti* mantle.

k) French *a* (*ā*) in closed syllables accented in OFr. (AFr.) (§ 3, D, c) *ant* aunt, *tšans* (*tšons*) chance.

2. ME. *au*.

a) French *au* (§ 37, 3) *savidž* savage.

*e*.

§ 53.

Oldham *e* in most cases corresponds to ME. *e*.

1. ME. *e*.

a) OE. *e*, *eo* (§ 5, A, a) *betðar* better, *frem* not akin, *wentš* girl.

b) Scand. *e* (§ 5, B) *deg* cut off, *feli* fellow.

c) French *e*, *e*, *ē*, accented, (§ 5, C, a) *lekšan* election, *fent* remnant of cloth.

d) French *e*, *e*, *ē*, secondary accent, (§ 5, C, b) *bebridž* beverage.

e) OE. *a* (§ 6, 2) *weš* wash, (§ 4, 5) *-es* ashes.

2. ME. *i* before *r* in open syllables.

a) OE. *y* (§ 8, 1, b) *beri* bury, *werit* (*wərit*) worry.

b) Fr. *y* (§ 7, C, b) *serap* syrup.

[c) Fr. *e* (§ 7, C, b) *sperit* spirit.]

3. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *æ*, *ē* (§ 45, 1, a) *eddər* adder, *les* lest.

b) OE. *ēa* (§ 45, 1, b) *bet* beaten, *flek* flea.

c) OE. *ēo* (§ 45, 1, c) *bent* coarse grass.

d) OE. *ēa* (*au* + *i*, *j*) (§ 45, 2) *tšep* cheap, *drem* dream.

e) OE. *æ* (*ai* + *i*, *j*) (§ 45, 3) *tlen* clean, *redi* ready.

f) Fr. *ai* (§ 45, 4) *feznt* pheasant, *plezər* pleasure.

4. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *ēo* (§ 45, 5) *brest* breast, *frend* friend.

5. ME. *ē* — *ē*.

a) OE. *æ* from WG. *ā* (§ 45, 6) *dred* dread.

6. ME. *ē* (medium *e*).

a) OE. *ē* in open syllables (§ 45, 7) *fret* fret, *ned* knead.

7. ME. *ai* (*ei*) (§ 50).

- a) OE. *e* + *z* *ægen* again, against.
- b) OE. *æ* + *z* *sed* said, *sez* says.
- c) Fr. *ai* *tšen* chain, *plez* please.

*i.*

§ 54.

Oldham *i* mostly corresponds to ME. *i*.

1. ME. *i*.

- a) OE. *i* (§ 7, A, a) *brid* bird, *wik* lively, *kist* chest.
- b) OE. *y* (§ 7, A, b) *bizi* busy, *mitš* much, *šildær* shoulder.
- c) Scand. *i* (§ 7, B) *blinkært* blind of one eye, *kipær* amorous.
- d) Scand. *y* (§ 7, B) *big* build, *klink* a blow.
- e) Fr. *i*, *ī* (§ 7, C) *džilivær* gilly flower, *nift* to be fastidious.

2. ME. *u*.

- a) OE. *u* (§ 12, 2) *šildær* shoulder.

3. ME. *ē*.

- a) OE. *ēo* (§ 18, 3, d) *diol* devil, *sik* sick.

4. ME. *ē* — *ē̄*.

- a) OE. *ē̄*, *ǣ* (§ 20, e) *istid* instead, *ridl* riddle.

5. ME. *ī*.

- a) OE. *ȳ* (§ 25, 2, d) *litl* little, *þimbl* thimble.
- b) OE. *ī* (§ 46) *wimbri* billerry, *Wissæn* Whitsunday.

*O.*

§ 55.

Oldham *o* mostly corresponds to ME. *o*.

1. ME.

- a) OE. *o* (§ 9, A, a) *brosn* burst, *kroft* field.
- b) OE. *eo* (§ 9, A, c) *jon(d)* yonder.
- c) Scand. *o* (§ 9, B) *glopn* astonish.
- d) Other Teutonic Sources (§ 9, C) *lolopin* awkward, *nokalz* knuckles.

- e) French *o* (*o*) (accented) (§ 9, D, a) *komikāl* comical, *rokit* au outer garment.
  - f) French *o* (*o*) (unaccented) (§ 9, D, b) *konsēt* conceit, *os* try.
  - g) Celtic *o* (§ 9, E) *bob* to dance about, *fog* grass after mowing.
2. ME. *a*.
- a) OE. *ēa* (§ 3, 1, d) *lođār* lather.
  - b) OE. *a* before *m*, *n*, *ŋ* (§ 4, 4) *mon* man, *rom* ram.
  - c) Fr. *a* before *m*, *n*, *ŋ* (§ 4, 4) *plonk* plank.
3. ME. *u*.
- a) OE. *u* (§ 11, E, Note) *kom* (*kum*) come, *sombri* somebody.
  - b) Fr. *u* (§ 11, E, Note) *komfart* (*kumfart*) comfort.
4. ME. *ē*.
- a) OE. *æ* [Germ. *ai* + *i*, *j*] (§ 16, 2, d) *swot* sweat.
5. ME. *ō*.
- a) OE. *ā* (§ 27, III) *wom* (*wum*) home, *wot* hot.
  - b) OE. *o* (§ 47) *broken* broken, *opn* open.
6. ME. *au* (*a*) (§ 36, b, 4).
- a) Fr. *a* *brontš* (*brōnts*) branch. *strondž* (*strōndž*) strange.
7. ME. *ō*.
- a) ME. *ō* (§ 48, 2) *ođār* other, *Mondi* Monday.

## *u.*

### § 56.

Oldham *u* mostly corresponds to ME. *u*.

- 1. ME. *u*.

  - a) OE. *u* (§ 11, A, 1) *butđār* butter, *kubart* cupboard.
  - b) OE. *y* (§ 11, A, 2) *krutš* crutch, *šut* shut.
  - c) Scand. *u* (§ 11, B) *pufl* to breathe with difficulty.
  - d) Other Teutonic Sources (§ 11, C) *slut* a slovenly woman.
  - e) French *u* (*ou*) (§ 11, D) *bulš* bulge, *muz* month.
  - f) Celtic *u* (§ 11, E) *krud* curds.

- 2. ME. *ü*.

  - a) OE. *y* (§ 13, A) *pruš* thrush.
  - b) French *u* (§ 13, B) *džust* just, *studi* study.

3. ME.  $\bar{o}$  (§ 29, 3) *buk* (*būk*) book, *luk* (*lūk*) look.
  - a) OE.  $\bar{o}$  (§ 48, 1) *blud* blood, *stud* stood.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{a}$  (§ 48, 1) *tupæns*, twopence.
4. ME.  $\bar{u}$ .
  - a) OE.  $\bar{u}$  (§ 49) *duv* dove, *šuv* shove.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{u}$  (§ 49) *grun* ground.
  - c) Sc.  $\bar{u}$  (§ 49) *puk* puck.
  - d) A.-French *u* (§ 49) *krunəʀ* (*krūnəʀ*) coroner.
5. ME.  $\bar{u}$ .
  - a) Fr. *u* (§ 33, d) *šugə* (*šūgəʀ*) sugar.

## U.

### § 57.

Oldham *u* corresponds mostly to ME. *u* before *m*, *n*,  $\eta$ .

1. ME. *u*.
  - a) OE. *u* (§ 11, A, 1) *kum̃n* come (ppl.), *druñken* drunk.
  - b) OE. *y* (§ 11, A, 2) *bundl* bundle [cp. Arch. 106, p. 37].
  - c) Other Teutonic Sources (§ 11, C) *plump* straight to the point.
  - d) French *o* (§ 11, D) *gum* gum, *sum* sum.
2. ME.  $\bar{u}$ .
  - a) OE. *y* (§ 13, A) *bundl* bundle.
  - b) Fr. *u* (§ 13, B) *um̃bl* humble, *puñiřh* punish.
3. ME.  $\bar{o}$ .
  - a) OE.  $\bar{a}$  (§ 27, III) *wyl* whole, *wuts* oats.
4. ME.  $\bar{o}$  (§ 48).
  - a) OE.  $\bar{o}$  *dun* done.
5. ME. *o* before  $\eta$ .
  - a) OE. *a* (§ 10, 2) *aluñg* along, *luñg* long.
  - [b) Sc. *e* (§ 10, 2) *duñg* struck.]
6. ME.  $\bar{u}$  before *m*, *n*,  $\eta$ .
  - a) OE.  $\bar{u}$  (§ 49) *krum̃* crumb, *gruñ* ground.
  - b) Scand.  $\bar{u}$  (§ 49) *skum̃* scum.
  - c) AFr.  $\bar{u}$  (§ 49) *kruñəʀ* coroner.

## *ə.*

### § 58.

Oldham *ə* corresponds mostly to ME. *i* before *r* in closed syllables.

1. ME. *i* before *r* (§ 8, 1).

a) OE. *y b̄arl* (*b̄arl*) to pour out, *w̄art̃s* work (vb).

b) Scand. *y b̄̊r* velocity, force.

c) Fr. *u ̄rt* hurt, *p̄rd̄ž* purge.

2. ME. *e* before *r* final or in closed syllables.

a) OE. *æ* (§ 6, b) *g̊r̄s* grass.

b) Fr. *e* (§ 6, b) *j̄rst* hearse, *t̄r̄abl* terrible.

3. ME. *o* before *r* (§ 10, 1, b).

a) OE. *o* (*h*)*̄rn* horn, *m̄r̄p̄* a great quantity.

b) Fr. *o k̄rel* coral.

4. ME. *u* before *r* (§ 12, 1).

a) OE. *y w̄arit* (*werit*) worry.

b) Scand. *u b̄̊r* a sticky plant.

## II. Long Vowels.

## *ā.*

### § 59.

Oldham *ā* mostly corresponds to ME. *e* before *r*.

1. ME. *e* (§ 6, 1 c).

a) OE. *a k̄ār* low-lying marsh.

b) OE. *ea d̄ār̄k* blind, (*h*)*ār̄k* listen.

c) OE. *e sk̄ār* a rocky place, *st̄ār̄t*.

d) OE. *eo k̄ār̄v* (*k̄ār̄v*) carve, *l̄ār̄n* learn, teach.

e) Fr. *e s̄ār̄tin* certain, *m̄ār̄si* mercy.

2. ME. *i* before *r* (§ 8, 1, c).

a) OE. *i p̄ār̄d* third, *p̄ār̄ti* thirty.

b) OE. *y k̄ār̄nel* kernel.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$  before  $r$  (§ 24).

a) OE.  $\bar{x}$  *jārli* early.

4. ME.  $a$  + final  $s$  (§ 4, 6, Note 2).

a) OE.  $a$  *dlās* glass, *lās* lass.

Note: The above are also found with  $\bar{a}$ .

## $\bar{e}$ .

### § 60.

Oldham  $\bar{e}$  mostly corresponds to ME.  $\bar{a}$  when final or before voiced consonants.

1. ME.  $\bar{a}$ .

a) OE.  $a$  (§ 14, A, a, 1) *ēk* ache, *hēt* hate.

b) OE. *ea* (§ 14, A, b) *gēt* gate.

c) OE. *æ* (§ 14, A, c) *mēpl* maple, *wēt(d)ar* water.

d) Scand.  $a$  (§ 14 B) *gēp* gape, *gēt* way, road.

e) Fr.  $a$  (§ 14, C) *bēkn* bacon, *fēs* face.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$ .

a) OE.  $\bar{e}a$  (§ 16, A, 1, c) *ēstær* (*ēsþeʳ*) Easter, *grēt* great.

b) OE.  $\bar{x}$  (§ 16, A, 2, b) *sē* sea, *tētš* teach.

c) Fr. *ai*, *ei* (§ 16, B, I) *ēz* ease, *ēgl* eagle, *ēgær* eager.

d) Fr.  $e$  (§ 16, B, II a) *disēv* deceive, *prēts* preach.

Fr.  $e$  (§ 18, B, 5, c) *obēdiant* obedient, *spēšl* special.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$ .

a) OE.  $\bar{e}o$  (§ 18, A, 3, c) *dēl* devil, *lēf* lief.

b) OE.  $e$  (§ 18, A, 5, b) *fēlt* field.

4. ME.  $\bar{e}$  —  $\bar{e}$  from W. Germ.  $\bar{a}$ .

a) (§ 20 A, 1, c) *spētš* speech.

5. ME. Medium  $\bar{e}$  = OE.  $\bar{e}$  in open syllables.

a) OE.  $\bar{e}$  (§ 22, b) *brēk* break, *spēk* speak.

6. ME. *ai*, *ei* before unvoiced consonants.

a) OE. (§ 34, A, 2) *ēt* eight.

b) Scand. *æ* *wēt* weight.

c) Fr. *ai* (§ 34, B) *wēt* wait, *trēt* treat.

7. ME. *au* before  $f$ .

a) Fr. *au* (§ 37, 2) *sēf* safe.



*I.*

§ 61.

Oldham *ī* mostly corresponds to ME. *ē*.

1. ME. *ē* (from all sources).

- a) OE. *ē*, *æ* (§ 18, A, 1, a) *fīd* feed, *gīs* geese.
- b) OE. *ē* (§ 18, A, 2, a) *ī* he, *wī* we.
- c) OE. *ēo* (§ 18, A, 3, a) *dīp* deep, *pīf* thief.
- d) OE. *ē* (*ea* + *i*) (§ 18, A, 4, a) *šīt* sheet, *stīpə* steeple.
- e) OE. *ē* (§ 18, A, 5, a) *fīlt* field, *jīld* yield.
- f) Fr. *é* (§ 18, B, 1) *əgrī* agree, *līdžənd* legend.
- g) Fr. *ie* (§ 18, B, 2) *tšīf* chief.
- h) Fr. *e* (§ 18, B, 5) *digrī* degree.

2. ME. *i* + *ght* (*χt*) (§ 8, 2).

- a) OE. *i* *nīt* night, *rīt* right.
- b) OE. *eo* *lītnin* lightening, *brīt* bright.
- c) OE. *y*: *frītn* frighten.

3. ME. *i* + *š* (§ 8, 3).

- a) OE. *i* *dīš* dish, *fīš* fish.
- b) OE. *y* *wīš* wish.

4. ME. *ē*.

- a) OE. *ēa* (§ 16, A, 1, b) *īst* east, *stīp* steep.
- b) OE. *æ* (§ 16, A, 2, c) *sī* sea.
- c) French *ai* (§ 16, B, I, c) *fīt* feat, *plīd* plead.
- d) Fr. *e* (§ 16, B, II, c) *əpīl* appeal, *sīs* cease.

5. ME. *ē* — *ē* from WG. *ā*.

- a) OE. *ē* (§ 20, A, 1, b) *grīdi* greedy, *sīd* seed.

6. ME. Medium *ē*.

- a) OE. *ē* (§ 22, c) *brīkfəst* breakfast, *līt* let.

7. ME. *ī*.

- a) OE. *y* (§ 25, A, 2, c) *tīn* shut, *wīs* wish.

8. ME. *ai*, *ei* (§ 34, Note).

- a) OE. *æ* + *z* *d̄i* day.
- b) OE. *e* + *z* *l̄id* laid, *l̄i* lay.
- c) Fr. *ai* *pl̄in* plain.

$\bar{Q}$ .

§ 62.

Oldham  $\bar{q}$  mostly corresponds to ME. *o*.

1. ME. *o* before *r* (§ 10, 1, a).

- a) OE. *o* *m̄r̄n* morning, *q̄rts* broken victuals.
- b) Fr. *o* *kw̄rd* cord, *f̄rtin* fortune.

2. ME. + NE final *l* (§ 4, 1, Note).

- a) OE. *a*, *ea*:  $\bar{q}$  *all*, *k̄q* *call*, *f̄q* *fall*.
- b) Fr. *a*: *b̄q* *ball*.

The above also appear with  $\bar{q}$ .

3. ME. *a* + *l* before *f* (§ 4, 2), *m*, *k*, *s*, *t* (§ 4, 3).

- a) OE. *a*, *ea* *k̄v* calf, *q̄v* half.  
(*h*)*q̄m* handle of an axe, *m̄t* malt.
- b) Fr. *a*: *f̄s* sly, cunning.

4. ME.  $\bar{q}$  before *r* (§ 28, 2).

- a) OE. *o* *b̄rn* born.

5. ME. *au*.

- a) OE. *a* + *z* (§ 36, A, 1) *dr̄q* draw, *l̄q* law.
- b) OE. *a*, *ea* + *w* (§ 36, A, 2) *r̄q* raw, *p̄q* thaw.
- c) Fr. *au* (§ 36, B, 1) *q̄t̄r* altar, *q̄t̄m* autumn.
- d) Fr. *a* + *Nasal* (§ 36, B, 2) *br̄qnts* branch.

$\bar{Q}$ .

§ 63.

Oldham  $\bar{q}$  mostly corresponds to ME. *qu*.

1. ME. *qu*.

- a) OE.  $\bar{a}$  + *w* (§ 40, I, 1) *kr̄q* crow, *sl̄q* slow.
- b) OE.  $\bar{a}$  + *z* (§ 40, I, 2) *q̄n* own.
- c) OE.  $\bar{o}$  + *z* (§ 40, I, 3) *b̄q* bow.

2. ME. *a* + NE. final *l* (§ 4, 1).

*ō* all, *kō* call, *fō* fall.

Note: The above also appear with *ȝ*.

3. ME. *ȝ* (§ 27, II).

a) OE. *ā* *arȝz* arose, *gōt* goat.

b) OE. *o* *hȝp* hope.

c) Fr. *o* *brȝtš* broach, *nȝtis* notice.

4. ME. *ou*.

a) OE. *ēo* + *w* (§ 38, 1) *blō* blow.

b) OE. *ȝ* + *w* (§ 38, 2) *flȝ* flow, *rȝ* row.

5. ME. *o* + *lk* (§ 10, 3, b).

a) OE. *o* *fȝk* (*fok*) folk.

b) OE. *eo* *jȝk* yolk.

## *ū* (*jū*).

### § 64.

Oldham *ū* mostly corresponds to ME. *ȝ*.

1. ME. *ȝ*.

a) OE. *ȝ* (§ 29, A, 1, a) *brūm* broom, *dū* do.

b) OE. *ā* (§ 29, A, 1, b) *hū* who, *wūm* womb.

c) Fr. *ō* (§ 29, B) *apruv* approve, *mūv* move.

2. ME. *u* + *l* final or before *l*, *d*, *t* (§ 12, 2).

a) OE. *u* *kūtār* ploughshare, *pū* pull.

b) Scand. *u* *būdār* boulder.

3. ME. *ē* (§ 18, A, 3, e).

a) OE. *ēo* *djūl* devil.

4. ME. *ū*.

a) Fr. *u* (§ 33, B, I, a and b) *džūs* juice, *jūs* use.

b) Fr. *üi* (§ 33, B, II a and b) *frūt* fruit, *sjūt* suit.

5. ME. *ou* (rare).

a) OE. *ȝ* (§ 38, 2, Note) *grū* grow.

6. ME. *qu* (§ 40, 3).

a) OE. *ā* + *w* *mū* mow, *snū* snow.

7. ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēa* + *w* (§ 42, I, a and b) *fjū* few, *šrū* shrew.
- b) OE. *eow* (§ 42, II) *jū* ewe.

8. ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēow* (§ 43, A, 1, b) *njū* new, *jū* yew.
- b) OE. *ēow* after *r* (§ 43, A, 1 c) *brū* brew, *grū* grew.

Note: These also appear with *eu*.

- c) OE. *īw* (§ 43, A, 2) *spjū* spew.
- d) Fr. *eu* (§ 43, B, 1, b) *ībrū* Hebrew.
- e) Fr. *iu* (§ 43, B, 2) *Džū* Jew.

*ē̄*.

§ 65.

Oldham *ē̄* only occurs before *r*.

1. ME. *e* + *r* (§ 6, 1, a).

- a) OE. *e*, *eo* *kērn* churn, *dērn* darn.  
*bērm* barm, *hērt* heart.

2. ME. *i* + *r* (§ 8, 1) in closed syllables.

- a) OE. *y* *bērl* to pour ont, *wērm* worm.
- b) Scand. *y* *bēr* velocity, *fērbobz* fircones.
- c) Fr. *u* *ērt* hurt, *pērdž* purge.

Note: The above also occur with *ē̄*.

3. ME. *o* + *r* (§ 10, 1, b).

- a) OE. *o* *kērn* corn, *pērn* thorn.
- b) Fr. *o* *fērtin*.

4. ME. *u* + *r* (§ 12, 1).

- a) OE. *u* *hērst* wood, grove, *wērtš* work.
- b) Scand. *u* *bēr* a sticky plant, *(h)ēr* to purr.

Note: The above also occur with *ē̄*.

5. ME. *ā* + *r* (§ 15).

- a) GE. *a* *fār* fare, *stār* stare.

6. ME. *ē̄* — *ē̄* + *r* (§ 21, 2).

- a) OE. *æ* *wēr* were, *wēr* (*wīər*) where.

7. ME. Medium  $\bar{e}$  +  $r$  (§ 23, 1, c).
  - a) OE.  $\ddot{e}$   $b\bar{e}r$  bear,  $p\bar{e}r$  pear.
8. ME.  $\bar{u}$  +  $r$  (rare) (§ 32).
  - a) Fr.  $ou$ :  $f\bar{e}r$  ( $f\bar{e}u\bar{e}r$ ) flower.
9. ME.  $ai$  ( $ei$ ) +  $r$  (§ 35).
  - a) OE.  $\bar{a}$  +  $z$ :  $st\bar{e}r z$  ( $st\bar{i}e r z$ ) stairs.
  - b) Sc.  $ei$   $d\bar{e}ri$  ( $d\bar{e}i ri$ ) dairy,  $d\bar{e}r$  their.
  - c) Fr.  $ai$  ( $ei$ )  $f\bar{e}r$  fair,  $p\bar{e}r$  pair.

### III. Diphthongs.

#### *ai.*

#### § 66.

1. ME.  $a$  +  $\check{s}$  (§ 4, 5).
  - a) OE.  $a$   $wai\check{s}$ .
  - b) OE.  $\bar{a}$   $lai\check{s}$ .
  - c) Scand.  $a$  (?)  $pai\check{s}$  to pour down.
  - d) Fr.  $a$   $slai\check{s}$  slash.
2. ME.  $e$  +  $\check{s}$  (§ 6, 2) (rare).
  - a) OE.  $\bar{a}$   $f\bar{ai}\check{s}$  ( $f\bar{lei}\check{s}$ ) flesh, meat.
3. ME.  $\bar{i}$  (literary influence).
  - a) OE.  $\bar{i}$  (§ 25, A, 1, b)  $t\check{s}aim$  chime,  $lai\check{f}$  life.  
 Note: In the above forms  $\bar{a}i$  is also found.  
 OE.  $\bar{i}$  (§ 25, A, 1, c)  $wai\check{t}$  white,  $wai\check{z}$  wise.
  - b) OE.  $\bar{y}$  (§ 25, A, 2, b)  $bai\check{l}$  bile,  $p\bar{rai}\check{d}$  pride.
  - c) OE.  $\bar{i}$ ,  $y$  +  $z$  (§ 25, A, 3)  $stai\check{l}$  stile,  $tail$  tile.
  - d) OE.  $\bar{e}o$  +  $z$  (§ 25, A, 4)  $lai$  to tell lies.
  - e) Fr.  $i$  (§ 25, B, b)  $fai\check{n}\bar{e}l$  final,  $pai\check{n}t$  pint.  
 Note: In the above  $\bar{a}i$  also found.  
 Fr.  $i$  (§ 25, B, c)  $dilai\check{t}$  delight,  $p\bar{rai}\check{s}$  price.
  - f) Scand.  $i$  (§ 25, C)  $p\bar{rai}\check{v}$  thrive.
4. ME.  $au$  +  $nd\check{z}$ ,  $ns$  (§ 36, B, 3).
  - a) Fr.  $ai\check{n}d\check{z}\bar{a}l$  angel,  $dai\check{n}s$  dance.

## *au.*

### § 67.

Oldham *au* corresponds mostly to ME. *au* before *ght*.

1. ME. *au* (§ 37, 1).
  - a) OE. *ā* + *w* *aut* aught.
  - b) Sc. *a* + *h* *draut* draught.
2. ME. *ol* before *l*, *st*, *t* (§ 10, 3, a).
  - a) OE. *o* *bau* bowl, *pau* to cut.
3. ME. *q̄* + *l* before *d* (§ 28, 1).
  - a) OE. *ā*, *ea* *bihaud* behold, *faut* fold.  
*saud* sold.
  - b) OE. *o* *saul* sole.
4. ME. *qu* particularly before *ght* (§§ 40, II and 41, 2).
  - a) OE. *ā* + *w* (§ 40, II) *saul* soul.
  - b) OE. *oh* (§ 41, 2) *baut* bought, *dautər* daughter.

## *ēi* (*ē<sup>i</sup>*).

### § 68.

Oldham *ē<sup>i</sup>* (*ei*) mostly corresponds to ME. *ā* when final or before unvoiced consonants.

1. ME. *ā* (§ 14, A, a, 2).
  - a) OE. *a* *ne<sup>i</sup>m* name, *tē<sup>i</sup>l* tale.
  - b) OE. *ea* (§ 14, A, b) *ē<sup>i</sup>l* ale, *šē<sup>i</sup>d* shade.
  - c) OE. *æ* (§ 14, a, c) *blē<sup>i</sup>d* blade, *rē<sup>i</sup>vn* raven.
  - d) Sc. *a* (§ 14, B) *gē<sup>i</sup>z* gaze.
  - e) Fr. *a* (§ 14, C) *ē<sup>i</sup>bl* able, *fē<sup>i</sup>bl* feeble.
2. ME. *e* + *š* (Rochdale influence) (§ 6, 2).
  - a) OE. *a* *wē<sup>i</sup>š* wash.
  - b) OE. *æ* *flē<sup>i</sup>š* flesh, meat.
  - c) OE. *e* *nē<sup>i</sup>š* tender.
3. ME. *ē*.
  - a) Fr. *ai* (§ 16, B, b) *ē<sup>i</sup>z* ease, *rē<sup>i</sup>zn* reason.

4. ME. *ai* (*ei*).

- a) OE.  $\ddot{e}$  ( $\bar{x}$ ) +  $z$  (§ 34, A, 1) *tlēi* clay, *dēizi* daisy.
- b) Fr. *ai* (*ei*) (§ 34, B) *tlēm* claim, *obēi* obey.
- c) Sc. *ei* (§ 34, C) *grēdli* properly, suitable.

5. ME. *au* before *f*, *v* (§ 37, 2).

- a) Fr. *au* *sēv* save.

*eu.*

§ 69.

Oldham *eu* mostly corresponds to ME. *ū*.

1. ME. *ū*.

- a) OE. *ū* (§ 31, A, 1) *dēun* down, *hēus* house.
- b) OE.  $\bar{o}$  before *h* (§ 31, A, 2) *bēu* bough.
- c) OE.  $\ddot{u}$  +  $z$  (§ 31, A, 3) *fēul* fowl, *sēu* sow.
- d) Fr. *u* (*o*) before nasal (§ 31, B, 1) *əmeunt* amount.
- e) Fr. *ou* (§ 31, B, 2) *əlēu* allow, *keutš* couch.
- f) Sc. *ū* (§ 31, C) *bēun* bound, *drēup* droop.

2. ME. *eu*.

- a) OE. *ēow* (§ 43, A, 1, a) *blēu* blew, *trēuþ* truth.
- b) Fr. *eu* (§ 43, B, 1, a) *blēu* blue.

*ēə.*

§ 70.

Oldham *ēə* corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e}$  + *r*.

1. ME.  $\bar{e}$  + *r* (§ 23, 1, b).

- a) OE.  $\ddot{e}$  *bēar* bear, *pēar* (*pēr*) pear.

2. ME.  $\bar{e}$  + *r* (§ 19, 1, b).

- a) OE.  $\bar{e}$  + *r* *wēari* (*wīari*) weary.

*īə.*

§ 71.

Oldham *īə* mostly corresponds to ME.  $\bar{e}$  from various sources.

1. ME.  $\bar{e}$ .

- a) OE.  $\bar{e}a$  (§ 16, A, 1, a) *bīam* beam, *dīaf* deaf.
- b) OE.  $\bar{x}$  (§ 16, A, 2, a) *tlīan* clean, *līest* least.

c) Fr. *ai* (§ 16, B, I, b) *plīaz* please, *rīazn* reason.

Note: The above also occur with *e*.

d) Fr. *ē* (§ 16, B, II, b) *bīast* beast, *restāv* receive.

e) Fr. *ēe* (§ 16, B, III) *sīal* seal, *vīal* veal.

2. ME. *ē*.

a) OE. *ē* (§ 17, A, 1, b) *brīad* breed, *spīad* speed.

b) OE. *ēo* (§ 17, A, 3, b) *krīap* creep.

c) OE. *ē* (*ēa*) (§ 17, A, 4, b) *nīad* need, *slīav* sleeve.

d) Fr. *ué* (§ 17, B, 4) *bīaf* beef, *pīapl* people.

e) Fr. *ie* (§ 17, B, 5, b) *grīaf* grief.

Fr. *ie* before *r* (§ 19, 2, 1) *fīar's* fierce, *pīar* pier.

3. ME. *ē* — *ē* from W. Germ. *ā*.

a) OE. *ē*, *æ* (§ 20, A, 1, a) *brīaþ* breath, *slīap* sleep.

4. ME. Medium *ē*.

a) OE. *ē* (§ 22, a) *nīad* knead, *trīad* tread.

Note: The above also appear with *ē*.

5. ME. *ai*, *ei* (rare) (§ 34, C, Note).

a) Fr. *ai* *tšīan* chain.

## *ié.*

### § 72.

Oldham *ié* is only found in the single word *piétar* theatre (§ 18, B, 3) ex ME. *thēatre*, French *théâtre*.

## *oi.*

### § 73.

Oldham *oi* mostly corresponds to ME *oi*.

1. ME. *oi*.

a) Fr. *oi* (§ 44, A, 1, a) *əpoint* appoint, *džoi* joy.

b) Fr. *o* (§ 44, A, 2, b) *loin* (*lāin*) loin.

c) Fr. *oe* (§ 44, A, 2, b) *soil* (*səil*) soil.

d) Uncertain sources (§ 44, B, c) *boi* boy, buoy.

2. ME. *o* before *l* (§ 27, IV).

a) OE. *o* *koil* (*kūal*) coal, *oil* hole.



# $\bar{o}ə$ .

## § 74.

Oldham  $\bar{o}ə$  mostly corresponds to ME.  $\bar{o}$  before final  $r$  in certain words.

1. ME.  $\bar{o}$  +  $r$  final (§ 28, 2).

Note: These words are also found with  $\bar{u}ə$ .

2. ME.  $ou$  +  $r$  final (§ 39).

a) OE.  $\bar{e}o$   $f\bar{o}ə^r$  four,  $j\bar{o}ə^r$  your.

# $\bar{u}e$ .

## § 75.

Oldham  $\bar{u}e$  corresponds mostly to ME.  $\bar{o}$ .

1. ME.  $\bar{o}$ .

a) OE.  $\bar{a}$  (§ 27, A, I, 1)  $\bar{a}l\bar{u}ən$  alone,  $g\bar{u}ə$  go.

b) OE.  $o$  (§ 27, A, I, 2)  $k\bar{u}əl$  (*koil*) coal,  $r\bar{u}əz$  rose.

c) Fr.  $o$  (§ 27, B)  $k\bar{u}ət$  (*kwot*) coat,  $r\bar{u}əst$  roast.

2. ME.  $\bar{o}$ .

a) OE.  $\bar{o}$  (§ 29, A, 2)  $sp\bar{u}ən$  spoon,  $tuəp$  tooth.

b) Fr.  $\bar{o}$  (§ 30)  $p\bar{u}ə^r$  poor.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$  —  $\bar{e}$ .

a) OE.  $\bar{x}$  (§ 20, A, 1, d)  $j\bar{u}ə^r$  hair.

4. ME.  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  before  $r$ .

a) OE.  $u$  (§ 32)  $d\bar{u}ə^r$  ( $d\bar{a}^r$ ) door.

# $\bar{u}i$ .

## § 76.

Oldham  $ui$  corresponds to:

1. ME.  $\bar{u}$  +  $e$  (§ 33, B, I, e).

a) Fr.  $ue$   $kr\bar{u}il$  cruel.

2. ME.  $ui$  (§ 44, d).

a) Fr.  $ui$   $r\bar{u}in$  ruin,  $s\bar{u}it$  suet.

*əi.*

§ 77.

Oldham *əi* mostly corresponds to ME. *ī*.

1. ME. *i*.

- a) OE. *ī* (§ 25, A, 1, a) *fāind* find, *māil* mile.
- b) OE. *ȳ* (§ 25, A, 2, a) *hāid* hide. *māis* mice.
- c) OE. *ī*, *y* + *z* (§ 25, A, 3) *drāi* dry, *tāi* tie.
- d) OE. *ēa* + *z* (§ 25, A, 5) *flāi* fly.
- e) OE. *ēo* + *z* (§ 25, A, 4) *əi* eye.
- f) Fr. *i* (§ 25, B, a) *fāin* fine, *nāis* nice.

2. ME. *oi*.

- a) Fr. *oi* (*ui*) (§ 44, A, 1, b) *nāiz* noise, *bāil* boil.

3. ME. *i*.

- a) OE. *i* (§ 7, a) *tšəilt* (*tšilt*) child.

IV. Triphthongs.

*aiə.*

§ 78.

Oldham *aiə* mostly corresponds to:

- a) Fr. *i* + Vowel (§ 25, B, b) *laiən* lion.

Note: The above is also found with *əiə*.

- b) OE. *ī* + *r* (§ 26) *šaiər* shire.
- c) Fr. *i* + *r* (§ 26) *skwaiər* squire.

2. ME. *ē* before *r*.

- (§ 19, 2, 2) *kweiər* quire.
- (§ 19, 2, 3) *kweiər* choir.
- (§ 19, 2, 4, a) *fraiər* friar.
- (§ 19, 2, 5, b) *inkweiər* enquire.

*euə.*

§ 79.

Oldham *euə* corresponds to ME. *ū* before *r*.

1. ME. *ū* + *r* (§ 32).

- a) OE. *ū beuər* bower, *šeuər* shower.
- b) Sc. *ū keuər* sit down.
- c) Fr. *ou fleuər* flour.
- d) Fr. *oë pēuər* power.

*oiə* (very rare).

§ 80.

Oldham *oiə* corresponds to:

1. ME. *oi* + Vowel (§ 44, A, 2, a).

- a) Fr. *oi roial* royal.

*əiə.*

§ 81.

Oldham *əiə* corresponds mostly to ME. *ī* before *r*.

1. ME. *ī* + *r* (§ 26).

- a) OE. *ī ǣiər* iron, *wǣiər* wire.
  - b) OE. *ȳ fǣiər* fire, *mǣiər* mire.
  - c) Fr. *i Empǣiər* Empire (Theatre).
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CHAPTER III.

# THE VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

## SHORT VOWELS.

*a.*

§ 82.

ME. unaccented *a* shows two developments: 1. it becomes *ə*, 2. it disappears.

1. *a* > *ə*.

a) In unaccented initial syllables followed by the principal accent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aboutē	<i>əbɛt</i>	about
abufen	<i>əbūn</i>	above
afæred	<i>əfɪərt</i>	afraid
agate	<i>əgɛt</i>	in action
agein	<i>əgen, əgin</i>	against
agrээр	<i>əgrī</i>	agree.

b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent.

Christ(es)- masse	<i>kə'sməs</i> <i>krisməs</i> <i>kesməs</i>	} Christmas
bastard	<i>bastərt</i>	
busard	<i>buzərt</i>	
couard	<i>kɛuərt</i>	aoward

ME.	OD.	NE.
crustade (sk)	<i>kustərt</i>	custard
mustard	<i>mustərt</i>	mustard.

2. a) Unaccented ME. *a* sometimes disappears initially.

amende	<i>mend</i>	mend
aprentice	<i>prentis</i>	apprentice
L. ad + lot + ment	<i>lotmənts</i>	allotments.

b) Unaccented ME. *a* disappears between certain consonants.

cristal	<i>kristl</i>	crystal
hospital	<i>q̄rspitl</i>	hospital
metal	<i>metl</i>	metal
principal	<i>prinsipl</i>	principal.

c) Unaccented *a* disappears between accented and secondary syllables.

cumpanie	<i>kumpni</i> <i>seprət</i>	company separate.
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*e.*

ME. *e* has become *ə* or *i*, under certain circumstances it has also disappeared.

1. ME. *e* > *ə* or *i*.

a) Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
elevene	<i>alevn</i> ( <i>iləvn</i> )	eleven
escāpe	<i>eskēp</i> ( <i>iskēp</i> )	escape
L. <i>eventus</i>	<i>ivent</i>	event.

b) In initial syllables followed by the principal accent.

deceit	<i>disēt</i>	deceit
deceive	<i>dise'v</i>	deceive
delit	<i>diləit</i>	delight.

c) In syllables preceded by the principal accent.

countesse	<i>kəuntəs</i>	countes
hundred	<i>undə't</i>	hundred
sac̄lās	<i>saklās</i>	silly.

also in all plurals in *es* (= OD. *iz*).

herses	<i>ə'siz</i>	hearses
houses	<i>ə'uziz</i>	houses
macches	<i>matʃiz</i>	matches.

d) In unaccented syllables, between the principal and the

secondary accent, ME. unaccented *e* either becomes *ə* or disappears.

ME. OD. NE.

beverage	<i>bev(ə)ridʒ</i> ( <i>bebridʒ</i> )	beverage
draperie	<i>drap(ə)ri</i>	drapery
gadering	<i>gaḏ(ə)rin</i>	gathering
miserie	<i>miz(ə)ri</i>	misery
quērēle + ing	<i>kwar(ə)lin</i>	quarrelling.

2. ME. *e* in unaccented syllables disappears.

a) Between certain consonants (*dl, tl, pl, vl, bl, (kl, tl,) sl*).

castel	<i>kasl</i>	castle
ketel	<i>ketl</i>	kettle
level	<i>levl</i>	level
litel	<i>litl</i>	little
purpre	<i>pə'rp</i>	purple
rēdles	<i>ridl</i>	riddle
stuble	<i>stubl</i>	stubble.

b) Final unaccented *e* in all ME. words is dropped.

mīle	<i>māil</i>	mile
swēte	<i>swīt</i>	sweet.

c) In unaccented syllables between the principal and the secondary accent (cp. I, d).

# *i.*

ME. *i* either remains as *i* in unaccented syllables or is dropped.

1. a) ME. *i* (*y*) remains finally.

ME.	OD.	NE.
em(p)ti	<i>emti</i>	empty
half-peni	<i>ḡpni</i>	half-penny
mani	<i>moni</i>	many
sely	<i>sili</i>	silly.

b) ME. *i* remains in final unaccented syllables when preceded by the principal accent.

coming	<i>kumin</i>	coming
finisse	<i>finiš</i>	finish
punische	<i>puniš</i>	punish

ME.	OD.	NE.
radishe	<i>radiš</i>	radish
schilling	<i>šilin</i>	shilling.

c) ME. *i* remains in initial syllables followed by the principal accent.

distreine	<i>distrēn</i>	distrain
distresse	<i>distres</i>	distress
disturbe	<i>distər̃b</i>	disturb.

2. ME. *i* is dropped between principal and secondary accent.

peni-wurthe	<i>penəḡ</i>	penny-worth.
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# *o.*

ME. *o* in unaccented syllables is 1. retained or 2. > *ə*, or 3. disappears.

1. ME. *o* is retained initially, though it sometimes > *ə*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
obeien	<i>obēi</i> ( <i>əbēi</i> )	obey
observe	<i>obsār̃v</i> ( <i>əbsār̃v</i> )	observe
opinioun	<i>opīnjān</i> ( <i>əpīnjān</i> )	opinion

2. ME. *o* > *ə* in final syllables after the principal accent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bulloke	<i>bulək</i>	bullock
confort	<i>kumfət</i>	comfort
galopen	<i>galəp</i>	gallop
sirope	<i>serəp</i>	syrup.

3. ME. *o* disappears between principal and secondary syllable (rare).

nō + } bodi	<i>nōbri</i>	nobody
sum + }	<i>sūmbri</i>	somebody.

# *u (ü).*

ME. *u* (*ü*) in unaccented syllables becomes *ə*, or disappears.

ME.	OD.	NE.
naturel	<i>nat(ə)rel</i>	natural.

# LONG VOWELS.

## $\bar{a}$ .

### § 83.

MF.  $\bar{a}$  in unaccented syllables becomes  $a$ , or  $i$ .

1. ME.  $\bar{a} > a$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
conestāble	<i>konstabl</i>	constable
speciāl	<i>spēšal</i>	special.

2. ME.  $\bar{a} > i$  before  $d\check{z}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
langāge	<i>langwidž</i>	language
sauvāge	<i>savidž</i>	savage.

## $\bar{e}$ .

ME.  $\bar{e}$  in unaccented syllables has become  $\bar{a}$  or  $i$ .

1. ME.  $\bar{e} > a$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
harneis	<i>a<sup>r</sup>nəs</i>	harness
(harnēs)		

ME.	OD.	NE.
paleis	<i>paləs</i>	palace.
(palēs)		

2. ME.  $\bar{e} > i$ .

cruēl	<i>krēuil</i>	cruel.
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## $\bar{e}$ .

ME.  $\bar{e}$  in unaccented syllables has become either  $a$  or  $i$ , or has disappeared.

1. ME.  $\bar{e} > a$  in final syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
banēre	<i>ban<sup>a</sup>r</i>	banner
bouchēr	<i>butš<sup>a</sup>r</i>	butcher
rivēr	<i>riv<sup>a</sup>r</i>	river.

2. ME.  $\bar{e} > i$  in final syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
beautē	<i>bjūti</i>	beauty
crüeltē	<i>krēuilti</i>	cruelty
plentē	<i>plenti</i>	plenty.

3. ME.  $\bar{e}$  has disappeared between certain letters (*tl*, *dl*).

catēl	<i>katl</i>	cattle
caudēl	<i>kōdl</i>	caudle.

I.

ME.  $\bar{i}$  in unaccented syllables became  $\text{ə}$  or  $i$ , or disappeared.

1. ME.  $\bar{i} > \text{ə}$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
velīm	<i>velām*</i>	vellum
venim	<i>venām*</i>	venom.

\* These are rare words in the dialect.

2. ME.  $\bar{i} > i$ .

ME.	OD.	NE.
compaignīe	<i>kūmpni</i>	company
musīke	<i>mjūsik</i>	music
promīsen	<i>promis</i>	promise.

3. ME.  $\bar{i}$  disappears between certain letters (*sn, tn*).

bāsīn	<i>bēsn</i>	basin
curtīn	<i>kārtn</i> <i>(kārtnər)</i>	curtain
reisīn	<i>rēzn</i>	raisin.

O.

ME.  $\bar{o}$  becomes either  $\text{ə}$  or  $o$ , or disappears in unaccented syllables.

1. ME.  $\bar{o} > \text{ə}$  in final unaccented syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
(tresōr)	<i>trešər</i>	treasure.

2. ME.  $\bar{o} > o$  when it has a secondary accent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
catalōge	<i>katalog</i>	catalogue
dialōge	<i>daiolog</i>	dialogue.

3. ME.  $\bar{o} > \text{ə}$ , or disappears between the principal and the secondary accents.

histōrie	<i>ist(ə)ri</i>	history
memōrie	<i>mem(ə)ri</i>	memory
victōrie	<i>vikt(ə)ri</i>	victory.

U.

ME.  $\bar{u}$  becomes  $\text{ə}$  or disappears.

1. ME.  $\bar{u} > \text{ə}$  in unaccented final syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
colour	<i>kulər</i>	colour
favour	<i>favər</i>	favour

ME.	OD.	NE.
jelous	<i>dželəs</i>	jealous
labour	<i>labər</i>	labour.

2. ME.  $\bar{u}$  disappears between principal and secondary accent.

particulēr	<i>pərtikelər</i>	particular
regulēr	<i>reglər</i>	regular.



*ü.*

ME. *ü* > *ə*, *i* or *u*.

1. *ü* > *ə* in unaccented syllables in.

ME.	OD.	NE.
mesūre	<i>mezər</i>	measure
natūre	<i>nētər</i> ( <i>nētḏər</i> )	nature
pastūre	<i>pastər</i>	pasture.

2. *ü* > *i* in unaccented syllables in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
minūte	<i>minit</i>	minute.

3. *ü* > *ju* in secondary syllables in:

avenūe	<i>avenju</i>	avenue
valūe	<i>valju</i>	value
vertū	<i>vərtju</i>	virtue.

DIPHTHONGS.

*ai, ei.*

§ 84.

ME. *ai, ei* in unaccented syllables has become *ə* or *i* or has disappeared.

1. *ai, ei* > *ə*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
conseil	<i>keunsəl</i> ( <i>keunsil</i> )	counsel
duzain	<i>duz(ə)n</i>	dozen
Romain	<i>Rōmən</i>	Roman
travaille	<i>trav(ə)l</i>	travel.

Note: Some of the above also appear with *i* or drop the diphthong.

2. *ai, ei* > *i*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
chimnée	<i>tšimbli</i>	chimney
foreine	<i>furin</i>	foreign
fontaine	<i>feuntin</i>	fountain
touail	<i>teuil</i>	towel.

3. ME. *ai, ei* disappears between certain consonants.

bataile	<i>batl</i>	battle
botel	<i>botl (bokl)</i>	bottle
certain	<i>sərtn</i> ( <i>sārtin</i> )	certain.
sodein	<i>sudn</i>	sudden
vitaille	<i>witlz</i>	victuals.

*au.*

ME. *au* in unaccented syllables becomes *ə*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
almaunde	<i>q̄mānd</i>	almond
ġiaunt	<i>džəiant</i>	giant
marchaunt	<i>mār tš(ə)nt*</i>	merchant
servaunt	<i>sār v(ə)nt</i>	servant.

\* Note: In certain combinations this *ə* almost disappears.

A notable exception to the above rule is

ME.	OD.	NE.
orenge	<i>orindž</i>	orange.

## *eu, eu.*

ME. *eu, eu* in unaccented syllables remains as *ju* or *u*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
corfeu	<i>kərfju</i>	curfew
neveu	<i>nevju</i>	nephew
Hebreu	<i>ībru</i>	Hebrew.

## *oi, ou, ou*

do not occur in unaccented syllables, except in some cases of weak sentence stress.

### B. Weak Syllables.

#### § 85.

1. The ME. syllable *we* (NE. = *ow*) has become weakened to *ə* in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
barwe	<i>barə</i>	barrow
schadwe	<i>šadə</i>	shadow
swalowe	<i>swalə</i>	swallow(vb)
wilwe	<i>wilə</i>	willow.

2. The ME. final syllable-*ward* becomes *-ərd*, *-ərt* in the OD.

awkward	<i>əkwərt</i>	awkward
bak-warde	<i>bakərt</i>	backward
forward	<i>forəd</i>	forward.

Note: The ME. word *toward* (OE. *tóweard*) has become contracted to *tərd* (= NE. *toward*).

3. A similar contraction has taken place with the final syllables *-worth* and *-what* in compounds. They appear as *əp* and *ət* respectively.

ME.	OD.	NE.
peni-	<i>penəp</i>	penny-
wurthe		worth
sumwhat	<i>sumət</i>	somewhat.

4. Initial syllables followed by the principal accent have been lost in (cp. also *a* in unstressed syllables § 82):

bicause	<i>koz</i>	because
delivren	<i>livə</i>	deliver
entisen	<i>təis</i>	entice
ENE. ta-	<i>bakə</i>	tobacco.
bacco		

For examples of weak Sentence Stress cp. Inflexion — Auxiliary Verbs and Pronouns.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE CONSONANTS.

### I. LABIALS.

*p.*

§ 86.

I. Initially *p* has been preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
path	<i>paþ</i>	path
peni	<i>peni</i>	penny
plaie, pleie	<i>plēi</i>	play
pot	<i>pot</i>	pot
pound	<i>peund, pund</i>	pound
proud	<i>preud</i>	proud
pēs	<i>pēs</i>	peace
pudding	<i>pudn</i>	pudding
püre	<i>pjūr</i>	pure
put	<i>put, pæt</i>	put.

II. Medially.

spēke	<i>spēk</i>	speak
sparwe	<i>spara</i>	sparrow
sperit	<i>sperit</i>	spirit
appel	<i>apə, ap-pə</i>	apple
champioun	<i>tšompjən</i>	champion
gospel	<i>gospəl</i>	gospel
pāper	<i>papər</i>	paper
whispere	<i>wispər</i>	whisper.
April(l)e	<i>April</i>	April
poplēr	<i>poplər</i>	poplar
purpre	<i>pərpl</i>	purple

ME.	OD.	NE.
Septembre	<i>Septembər</i>	September
simple	<i>simpəl</i>	simple
upwarde	<i>upər dz</i>	upwards.

*p* is dropped:

α) Before *b*.

cupborde	<i>kubərt</i>	cupboard
rasp + berie	<i>razbri</i>	raspberry.

β) In the combination *mpt*.

empti(emti)	<i>emti</i>	empty
tempt	<i>temt</i>	tempt.

ME. *p* has become *b* in the following:<sup>1</sup>

baptisen	<i>babtəiz</i>	baptize
lopster	<i>lobstər</i>	lobster
pibbel-stōn	<i>pebl</i>	pebble.
(OE. <i>papel-stān</i> ?)		

III. Finally *p* always retained.

1. In ME. final position.

chēp	<i>tšīp, tšīəp</i>	cheap
dēp	<i>dīp, dīəp</i>	deep
hēp	<i>hīp, hīəp</i>	heap

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. Bradley, M. L. Q. I, 27.

ME.	OD.	NE.
hemp	<i>hemp</i>	hemp
scharp	<i>šār<sup>r</sup>p</i>	sharp.
2. In NE. final position.		
cuppe	<i>kup</i>	cup
helpe	<i>elp</i>	help

ME.	OD.	NE.
laumpe	<i>lōmp</i>	lamp
schāpe	<i>šēp</i>	shape
steppe	<i>step</i>	step
waspe	<i>wasp</i>	wasp.

## b.

### § 87.

#### I. Initially *b* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bath	<i>baḫ</i>	bath
bataile	<i>batl</i>	battle
bēre	<i>bēār, bīār</i>	bear
bēst	<i>bīas(t)</i>	beast
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
bodi	<i>bodi</i>	body
boile	<i>bail</i>	boil
bōk	<i>būk</i>	book
bute	<i>but</i>	but.

#### II. Medially.

abit	<i>abit</i>	habit
aboutē	<i>abēt</i>	about
elbowe	<i>elbo</i>	elbow
husbonde	<i>usbānd</i>	husband
labour	<i>labār*</i>	labour
thim(b)el	<i>ḫimbl**</i>	thimble
timber	<i>timbār</i>	timber.

\* Note 1. The ordinary word in the Dialect is *wark*.

\*\* Note 2. *b* has been inserted after *m* and before *el* in:

nimel	<i>nimbl</i>	nimble
thimel	<i>ḫimbl</i>	thimble

ME.	OD.	NE.
February	<i>Febriwē'ri</i>	February
humble	<i>umbl</i>	humble
tremblen	<i>trembl</i>	tremble
tumble	<i>tumbl</i>	tumble.

#### III. Finally.

In NE. final position *b* is also retained, except after *m*.

##### α) Retained:

clubbe	<i>klub</i>	club
crabbe	<i>krab</i>	crab
gabbe	<i>gab</i>	gab
herbe	<i>jār<sup>b</sup></i>	herb
knobbe	<i>nob</i>	knob
ribbe	<i>rib</i>	rib.

##### β) Dropped:

cōmb	<i>kōm</i>	comb
dumb, domb	<i>dom, dum</i>	dumb
lamb, lomb	<i>lom</i>	lamb
climbe	<i>klaim</i>	climb
thombe, thumbē	<i>ḫum</i>	thumb.

Note: Final *b* is hardened to *p* in

gossib	<i>gosip</i>	gossip.
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# f.

## § 88.

I. α) Initially *f* is usually retained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
fāder	<i>fē'dər</i>	father
fīnde	<i>fāind</i>	find
flesch	<i>flaiš, fleiš</i>	flesh, meat
flie	<i>flai</i>	fly
fōt	<i>fūt</i>	foot
foreine	<i>furin</i>	foreign.

β) Initial *f* has become *v* (an importation from the literary language, originally dialect of Kent):

fāne (Kent. <i>vē'in*</i> vāne)	vane
fat (Kent. <i>vat</i> vat)	vat
fixen (Kent. <i>vixn</i> vixen)	vixen.

\* Note: "*wedər-kok*" is more common in the OD.

## II. Medially.

biforen	<i>afūr</i>	before
cofin	<i>kofin</i>	coffin
confort	<i>kumfərt</i>	comfort
defenden	<i>difend</i>	defend
defien	<i>difai</i>	defy
griffoun	<i>grifin</i>	griffin
craft	<i>kraft</i>	craft
daft	<i>daft</i>	foolish
fifte	<i>fift</i>	fifth

ME.	OD.	NE.
gillofer	<i>džilifləuər</i>	gillyflower
offre	<i>ofər</i>	offer.

## III. Finally.

α) In final position *f* mostly retained.

bēf	<i>bīf</i>	beef
chaufe	<i>tšēf</i>	chafe
delf	<i>delf</i>	a stone quarry
doffe	<i>dof</i>	doff
līf	<i>lāif</i>	life
scherefe	<i>šerif</i>	sheriff
strīf	<i>strāif</i>	strife
thēf	<i>þīf</i>	thief
wīf	<i>wāif</i>	wife.

β) In a few ME. words, the *f* has been dropped.

bailif, baili	<i>bēli</i>	bailiff
houswīf	<i>uži</i>	huzzy
jolīf	<i>džoli</i>	jolly.

γ) *f* > *v* in the following.

calf	<i>kāv</i>	calf
fīf	<i>fāiv</i>	five
twelf	<i>twelv</i>	twelve
half	<i>āv</i>	half
of	<i>ov</i>	of.

Note: *f* in *half* is dropped in *āpni*-half-penny. — The OD. forms are derived from ME. inflected forms, *ov* is unstressed,

# V.

## § 89.

ME. *v* = OD. *v* in all positions.

### I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
verrei, verrai	<i>veri</i>	very
vertu	<i>vārtju</i>	virtue
vers	<i>vārs, ves</i>	verse
vois	<i>vois</i>	voice
viage	<i>vauədž</i> ( <i>au!</i> )	voyage.

Note: Initial *v* > *f* in:

vecche	<i>fitš</i>	vetch.
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### II. a) Medially.

fever	<i>fēvər</i>	fever
hēven	<i>evn</i>	heaven
livre	<i>livər</i>	liver
rivēr	<i>rivər</i>	river
seven	<i>sevn</i>	seven
wives	<i>waivz</i>	wives.

b) Medial *v* has been dropped in:

dēvel	<i>dīl, dīəl</i>	devil
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ME.	OD.	NE.
eveninge	<i>īn</i>	evening
ever	<i>ēr</i>	ever
given	<i>gin</i>	given
ōven	<i>ūn</i>	oven
over	<i>ōər</i>	over
po(v)re	<i>pūər</i>	poor.

### III. a) Finally (NE. final position).

douve	<i>duv</i>	dove
drīve	<i>draiv</i>	drive
glōve	<i>dluv</i>	glove
love	<i>luv</i>	love
schouve	<i>šuv</i>	shove.

b) Medial *v* > *f* in a certain number of words.

belēve	<i>bilēf</i>	belief
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For explanation cp. Köppel, Archiv CVI, 37.

# W.

## § 90.

### I. Initially.

α) ME. *w* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
waġe	<i>wē<sup>i</sup>džəz</i>	wages
waite	<i>wēt</i>	wait
waraunt	<i>warənt</i>	warrant
was	<i>woz</i>	was
wāter	<i>wētər, wītər</i> <i>wēpər, wītər</i>	water
wēke	<i>wīk</i>	week
werre	<i>wār</i>	war

ME.	OD.	NE.
wīn	<i>wəin</i>	wine
wisshe	<i>wīš</i>	wish
wode	<i>wud</i>	wood
wolde, wulde	<i>wud</i>	would
word	<i>wōrd</i>	word.

β) Initial *w* dropped before *r*.

wrappen	<i>rap</i>	wrap
wrechen	<i>ratš</i>	to stretch

ME.	OD.	NE.
wrestlen	<i>rasl, rosl</i>	wrestle
wringe	<i>ring</i>	wring
write	<i>rait</i>	write
writhe	<i>raidt</i>	writhe
wriþen	<i>ridn</i>	twisted.

Note: An initial *w* has been prefixed before ME. *ȝ* cp. § 27, III.

## II. Medially.

a) Consonant + *w*. — The groups *dw, sw, tw*

α) preserve the *w* in the OD. except, β) before velar vowels and in unaccented syllables.

α)

dwellen	<i>dwel</i>	dwel
dwarf, dwerf	<i>dwārf</i>	dwarf
dwindle	<i>dwindle</i>	dwindle
swap	<i>swap</i>	a stroke
swelten	<i>swelty</i>	sultry
swēte	<i>swīt</i>	sweet
swōte	<i>swot</i>	to sweat
twine	<i>twain</i>	twine
twinklen	<i>twinkl</i>	twinkle
twist	<i>twist</i>	twist.

β)

### 1. Before Velar Vowels.

hwō > hō	<i>ū</i>	who
hwōm > hōm	<i>ūm</i>	whom
hwās > hōs	<i>ūz</i>	whose
swa	<i>sq̄, sō, so</i>	so
swērd	<i>sq̄rd</i>	sword
twō	<i>tū</i>	two
þwong	<i>þon</i>	thong.

## 2. In unaccented Syllables.

ME.	OD.	NE.
swich, swuch	<i>sitš, sutš</i>	such.

b) Before Vowels.

1. Dropped before velar Vowels and in unaccented syllables.

α) Before Velar Vowels.

(al)swa	<i>(q̄)lsō</i>	(al)so.
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β) In unaccented syllables.

alway	<i>q̄lāz</i>	always
answare	<i>q̄nsər</i>	answer
backward	<i>bakər dz</i>	backwards
bōtswain	<i>bōsn</i>	boatswain
foreward	<i>forəd</i>	forward
grundes- wilie	<i>grunsl</i>	groundsel
houswīf	<i>u zi</i>	housewife
peni-wurth	<i>penəþ</i>	penny- worth.

2. *w* has been inserted before a vowel in:<sup>1</sup>

langage	<i>langwidž</i>	language.
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III. Finally *w* has always dropped in NE. final position being-weakened to *ə*. This is due to the unaccented position.

arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
barwe	<i>barə</i>	barrow
medwe	<i>medə</i>	meadow
schadwe	<i>šadə</i>	shadow
widwe	<i>widə</i>	widow
wilwe	<i>wilə</i>	willow
zelwe	<i>jalə</i>	yellow.

Note: ME. *felawe*, however, appears mostly as *feli*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Köppel "Spelling Pronunciations" p. 23.

## *hw (wh).*

### § 83.

ME. *hw* (*wh*) has either disappeared totally (cp. p. 87, a, β) or become *w*. It only occurs initially.

*hw* > *w*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
what	<i>wot</i>	what

ME.	OD.	NE.
when	<i>wen</i>	when
whēr(e)	<i>wīār</i> ( <i>wār</i> )	where
which	<i>witš</i>	which
whistle	<i>wisl</i>	whistle
whīt	<i>wait</i> ( <i>wait</i> )	white.

## *m.*

### § 84.

ME. *m* has always remained.

#### I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
man, mon	<i>mon</i>	man
mete	<i>mēt</i>	meat
miche,	<i>mitš</i>	much
moche		
mīn, mi	<i>māi</i>	my
mōder	<i>mūdār</i>	mother
mountaine	<i>mēuntin</i>	mountain
month	<i>mēuþ</i>	month
myghte	<i>mait</i>	might.

#### II. Medially.

smellen	<i>smel</i>	smell (vb)
smodren	<i>smūār</i>	to suffocate
almesse	<i>ōmās</i>	alms
amounten	<i>āmēunt</i>	amount
damage	<i>damidž</i> ( <i>domidž</i> )	damage
hamer	<i>omār</i>	hammer
zemer (sad)	<i>jomār</i> , <i>jamer</i>	to grieve.

ME.	OD.	NE.
companie	<i>kumpni</i>	company
humble	<i>umbl</i>	humble
laumpe	<i>lomp</i>	lamp
noumpēre	<i>umpōiār</i>	umpire
simple	<i>simpl</i>	simple
pombe	<i>þum</i>	thumb.

Note: ME. *m* > *n* before *t* in the following.

am(e)te	<i>ant</i>	ant.
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#### III. Finally.

bosum	<i>buzm</i>	bosom
dreem	<i>drīām</i> , <i>drem</i>	dream
ham	<i>wum</i>	home
ram	<i>rom</i>	ram
roum	<i>rēum</i>	room
come	<i>kum</i>	come
nāme	<i>nē'im</i>	name
swimme	<i>swim</i>	swim
tīme	<i>tāim</i>	time.



## II. DENTALS.

### *t*.

#### § 85.

ME. *t* has remained in all positions.

#### I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
tāle	<i>tē<sup>i</sup>l</i>	tale
tīme	<i>tāim</i>	time
toun	<i>tēun</i>	town
tour	<i>tēu<sup>r</sup></i>	tower
tunge	<i>tung</i>	tongue.

#### II. Medially.

steir	<i>stī<sup>r</sup>, stā<sup>r</sup></i>	stair
straw	<i>strē<sup>i</sup></i>	straw
bataile	<i>batl</i>	battle
curtin	<i>kā<sup>r</sup>tnā<sup>r</sup></i>	curtain
fitlock, fetlack	<i>fetlock</i>	fetlock
pertriche	<i>pār<sup>r</sup>tridž</i>	partridge.

In many words where *t* occurs before *r* (*ər*), it becomes *tđ* or *p*. This rule is not so invariable however as in the neighbouring dialects (cp. Hargreaves § 74, 2).

beter	<i>betđā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>betā<sup>r</sup></i> )	better
creature	<i>krēpā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>krētā<sup>r</sup></i> )	creature
cutten + leg	<i>kutđā<sup>r</sup>- leg</i> ( <i>kutā<sup>r</sup>- leg</i> )	{ a hoop of a barrel used as a hoop to play with
Ēster	<i>Āspā<sup>r</sup>, Ēspā<sup>r</sup></i>	Easter

ME.	OD.	NE.
maister	<i>mespā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>mestā<sup>r</sup></i> )	master
matere	<i>matpā<sup>r</sup></i>	matter
wāter	<i>wēpā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>wētā<sup>r</sup></i> )	water
winter	<i>winpā<sup>r</sup></i>	winter.

*t* has been dropped medially between *s*, *f* and *l*, *m*, *n*.

Christes- masse	<i>krismes</i>	Christmas
listene	<i>lisn</i>	listen
often	<i>ofn</i>	often
soften	<i>sofn</i>	soften
thrōstel	<i>p<sup>r</sup>osl</i>	throstle
whistle	<i>wisl</i>	whistle.

Note: *t* > *r*:

Span. patata	<i>poritā</i>	potato.
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Contrary to some neighbouring dialects *t* before ME. *ii* does not become *tš* but remains as *t* (cp. Hargreaves § 74, 8 and Horn, Unters. p. 86 ff.)

fournitüre	<i>fornitā<sup>r</sup></i>	furniture
fortune	<i>fortin</i>	fortune
natüre	<i>nētā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>netđā<sup>r</sup></i> )	nature
pastüre	<i>pastā<sup>r</sup></i> ( <i>pasđā<sup>r</sup></i> )	pasture.

III. Finally (in ME. and NE. final positions).

at	<i>at</i>	at
aught	<i>q̄t</i>	aught
aunt(e)	<i>q̄nt, ēnt</i>	aunt

ME.	OD.	NE.
bōt	bōt	boat
holt	baut	bolt
bat	at	hat
areste	arest	arrest
bōte	būt	boot
berste	brast	burst
chiste	tšist, kist	chest
faute	faut	fault
fighte	fait	fight.

Final (ME. and NE.) *t* has been assimilated to preceding *s*.

bēste	bīast (pl. beast bīas)	
cruste	krus } pl. kras } kru- crust } sisez	
ģiste	džois (pl. joist dsoisiz)	
leste	les	lest
nest	niz (pl. nest. niziz) (nīst)	

Final *t* has been dropped before a word beginning with a consonant.

būte	bā', bo', bai'	but
lēte	le	let
put	po	put

ME.	OD.	NE.
Cp. Whit- sundei	Wisn(di)	Whitsun- day.

Note: In some of the above words *t* often becomes *r* (also in ME. *gete*), that is to say when they stand before a vowel.

lete	ler	let
gete	ger	get
put	pər	put.

A final *t* has been added (sometimes in LME.) to the following.

auncien(t)	ēnšant	ancient
fēsaun(t)	fəznt	pheasant
tirann(t)	tairant	tyrant
ōnes	wunst, wənst	once
gisér	gizart (gizərn)	gizzard
hērcce	hārst	hearse
scurf	skruft	scruff
snevien	snift	sniff
tiffen	tift	good order.

Note: The forms against and whilst are not found in the dialect. They are *əgin* and *wəil* without *st* as in ME.

## *d.*

### § 86.

I. Initially ME. *d* has remained in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
day, dai	dēi	day
dauncen	dōns, dains, dons	dance

ME.	OD.	NE.
dar	dār, dār	dare
dēl	dīal	deal
dēze, dīe	dai, (dī)	die
doughter	dautər	daughter
dūble	dubl	doubl
dumb, domb	dom	dumb.

## II. Medially.

### 1. ME. *d* has been preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
body, bodi	<i>bodi</i>	body
bridel	<i>bræidl</i>	bridle
cinder, sinder	<i>sindər</i>	cinder
gardin	<i>gār dn, gār dīn</i>	garden
jaundis (jannis)	<i>jōndis</i>	jaundice
medicine	<i>medsin</i>	medicine
kindle	<i>kindl</i>	kindle
kidnēre	<i>kidni</i>	kidney
medle	<i>medl</i>	meddle.

2. Intervocalic *d* in unaccented syllables has become *r*.

ēny, ani + bodi	<i>anibri</i>	anybody
nōbodi	<i>nōbri</i>	nobody
sum, som + bodi	<i>sūmbri</i>	somebody.

3. *d* after *n* has disappeared by assimilation medially in the combinations *nds*, *ndf*, *ndl*, *ndn*.

<i>nds</i>		
answare	<i>q̄nsər, onsər</i>	answer
groundswell	<i>grūnsel</i>	groundsel
<i>ndf</i>		
graund + fader	<i>gronfēi dər</i>	grandfather
land) lond) + lōrd	<i>lonlōrt</i>	landlord
<i>ndl</i>		
candel	<i>konl</i>	candle
trendelen	<i>trunl</i>	trundle
nēdle	<i>nīl</i>	needle
<i>ndn</i>		
brandnewe	<i>bron-njū</i>	brandnew
haboun- dance	<i>abunəns</i>	abundance.

### 4. ME. *d* between Vowel and *r* > *ḍ*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bladdre	<i>bledər (bledər)</i>	bladder
(diddre)	<i>di dər</i>	to tremble
fader	<i>fēi dər</i>	father
fodder	<i>fo dər</i>	fodder
gadere	<i>ga dər</i>	gather
laddre	<i>la dər (laddər)</i>	ladder
mōder	<i>mu dər</i>	mother
poudre	<i>peu dər (pēu dər)</i>	powder
wēder	<i>we dər</i>	weather.

ME. *d* after Consonant + *r* generally becomes *dḍ*; *ddr* > *dḍr*, and *dr* > *ḍr*, cp. *bledər*, *bledər* = "bladder" and *la dər*, *laddər* = "ladder" above.

	<i>glendər (glendər)</i>	to stare
	<i>lindər (lindər)</i>	to tie up
wonder	<i>wundər (wundər)</i>	wonder
hundred	<i>undḍred, undḍred</i>	hundred
childre	<i>tšildər</i>	children.

## III. Finally.

ME. *d* has a) remained as *d* or b) become *t* under certain conditions or c) has disappeared.

### a) 1. In ME. final position.

balled	<i>baud</i>	bald
bērd	<i>bīər d</i>	beard
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
cōld	<i>kaud</i>	cold
glad	<i>dlad</i>	glad.

2. In NE. final position.

ME.	OD.	NE.
almaunde	<i>ōmānd</i>	almond
cloude	<i>tleud</i>	cloud
ende	<i>end</i>	end
knēde	<i>nīad, nīd</i>	knead
ladde	<i>lad</i>	lad
ōld	<i>aud</i>	old.

b) Final *d* > *t* 1. in the preterite and past participle of many verbs and 2. a large number of other words.

1.

axede	<i>akst</i>	asked
hōpede	<i>ōpt</i>	hoped
lokede	<i>lūkt</i>	looked
passedede	<i>past</i>	passed
crabbe + ed	<i>krabt</i>	ill-tempered
crencled	<i>krīnklt</i>	crinkled
dased	<i>deizt</i>	dazed
favoured	<i>favərt</i>	favoured
grisel + ed	<i>grizlt</i>	grizzled
hanged	<i>angt</i>	hanged
ōpen + ed	<i>opənt</i>	opened
sēmede	<i>semt</i>	seemed
smothered	<i>smūrt</i>	smothered
teried	<i>tarit</i>	tarried
blended	<i>blendit</i>	blended.

2.

afraried	<i>afīərt</i>	afraid
awkward	<i>ōkərt</i>	awkward
bakward	<i>bakərt</i>	backward
band	<i>bant</i>	band, string

ME.	OD.	NE.
behinde	<i>behint</i> ( <i>bihənt</i> )	behind
beyonde	<i>bijont</i>	beyond
blind	<i>blint</i>	blind
child	<i>tšəilt, tšilt</i>	child
fēld	<i>fīəlt, fīlt</i>	field
fōld	<i>faud</i>	fold
for(th)ward	<i>forət</i> ( <i>forəd</i> )	forward
hand, hond	<i>ont</i>	hand
inwarde	<i>inərt</i>	inward
londlōrd	<i>lonlōrt</i>	landlord
solide	<i>solit</i>	solid
thousand	<i>þeūsənt</i>	thousand
toward	<i>tuərt(tōrd)</i>	toward
wisard	<i>wizərt</i>	wizard
wōrd	<i>wərt</i>	word.

For further examples with explanations cp. Horn "Guttural-laute" p. 38 ff.

c) *d* has disappeared after *n* in the following (see also above).

and	<i>an</i>	and
bunden	<i>bun</i>	constipated
funden	<i>fōn, fun</i>	found
grand	<i>gron</i>	grand
ground	<i>grun</i>	ground
wunden	<i>wun</i>	wound.

Note: *d* has not been inserted in:

boun	<i>beun</i>	bound (adj.)
lēue	<i>lan</i>	lend.

*th*, (*þ*).

§ 87.

1. Initially *þ* has remained except in unaccented words and sometimes before *w*.

1. *þ* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
thāwe	<i>þō</i>	thaw

ME.	OD.	NE.
thēf	<i>þīf</i>	thief
thorn	<i>þōrn</i>	thorn
thumbe	<i>þum</i>	thumb
thunder	<i>þunər</i>	thunder.

2. Initial  $\bar{p} > \bar{d}$  in unaccented in unaccented words.

ME.	OD.	NE.
that	$\bar{d}at$	that
$\bar{p}\bar{e}$	$\bar{d}\bar{i}$	thee
$\bar{p}ei$	$\bar{d}\bar{e}$	they
their	$\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{a}^r$ ( $\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$ )	their
thenne	$\bar{d}en$	then
thēre	$\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{a}^r$ , $\bar{d}\bar{e}^r$	there
$\bar{p}\bar{i}n$	$\bar{d}\bar{a}i(n)$	thy, thine
this	$\bar{d}is$	this
$\bar{p}ou$ , $\bar{p}u$	$\bar{d}eu$	thou
$\bar{p}\bar{o}s$	$\bar{d}\bar{u}\bar{a}z$	those.

Note: Used interrogatively, the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers sing. appears as  $t\bar{a}$  e. g.  $es-t\bar{a}$  = "hast thou"?  $wil-t\bar{a}$ ? wilt thou? This is a process of assimilation to the preceding  $t$ .

It even becomes  $t$  in such combinations as " $Wot\bar{a}st t's\bar{e}i$ ?" = What dost thou say?

## II. Medially and Finally.

### 1. $\bar{p}$ remained.

helthe + y  $el\bar{p}i$  healthy

ME.	OD.	NE.
nōthing	$nuping$ , $nupin\bar{k}$	nothing
mouth	$m\bar{e}u\bar{p}$	mouth
path	$p\bar{a}\bar{p}$	path
tōth	$t\bar{u}\bar{p}$	tooth
treuthe	$tr\bar{e}u\bar{p}$	truth.

2. In the following unaccented word  $\bar{p} > \bar{d}$ .

with  $wid\bar{t}$  with.

### 3. $thw > thw$ or $w$ .

$\bar{p}wytel$	$\bar{p}witl$ , $witl$	whittle
$\bar{p}wyten$	$\bar{p}wait$	to cut
$\bar{p}waken$	$\bar{p}wak$ , $wak$	thwack.

Note 1: ME.  $\bar{p}wong$  has lost it  $w$  before  $o$ :

$\bar{p}wong$   $\bar{p}ong$  thong.

Note 2: NE.  $thwart$  (< ON.  $\bar{p}vert$ ) is seldom found in the dialect. The same thing applies to the derivatives of this word.

## $th$ , ( $\bar{d}$ ).

### § 88.

1. ME.  $\bar{p}$  ( $\bar{d}$ ) has remained medially and in NE. final position.

ME.	OD.	NE.
brōther	$brud\bar{a}^r$	brother
either	$\bar{e}i\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	either
ferthing	$f\bar{a}^r\bar{d}in$	farthing
lather	$lo\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	lather
nouthur	$n\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{a}^r$	neither
bāthe	$b\bar{e}i\bar{d}$	bathe
bōthe	$b\bar{u}\bar{d}$	booth

ME.	OD.	NE.
brēthe	$br\bar{i}\bar{d}$	breath
smōthe	$sm\bar{u}\bar{d}$	smooth.

Note 1:  $\bar{d} > \bar{p}$  however in:

bōthe	$b\bar{u}\bar{a}\bar{p}$	both
benēthe	$bin\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{p}$	beneath.

Note 2: Concerning plural forms  $m\bar{e}u\bar{p}s$  &c. cp. Accidence.

2. ME. *p* (*ð*) = *d*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aforthe	<i>afōrd</i>	afford
fīthel	<i>fīdl</i>	fiddle
morder	<i>mōrdar</i> ( <i>mōrdār</i> )	murder
spīther	<i>spāidar</i> ( <i>spāidār</i> )	spider

ME.	OD.	NE.
swathele	<i>swadl</i>	swaddle.

Note: *kud* (could) > OE. *coupe* shows same analogical formation as in lit. Engl.

clōthes	<i>tlūaz</i>	clothes.
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S.

§ 89.

Initially.

ME. *s* has remained in simple and in compound words.

ME.	OD.	NE.
certain	<i>sār̄tin</i>	certain
sand	<i>sond</i>	sand
salt	<i>sōt</i>	salt
spēke	<i>spēik</i>	speak
stōn	<i>stūan</i>	stone
handsom	<i>ansam</i>	handsome
him-self	<i>issél, isél</i> <i>issén, isén</i>	himself
me-self	<i>mis(s)él</i> <i>mis(s)én</i>	myself
in-side	<i>insaid</i>	inside.

Finally.

1. ME. *s* has remained *α*) in words ending in *s*, and *β*) in the ending of the Nom. Pl. and the Gen. case, when an unvoiced consonant precedes.

1.

fāce, fās	<i>fēs</i>	face
gēs	<i>gīs</i>	geese
kiss	<i>kis</i> <sup>1</sup>	kiss
mous	<i>mēus</i>	mouse
vois	<i>vois</i>	voice.

2.

ME.	OD.	NE.
bōkes	<i>būks</i>	books
cates	<i>kats</i>	cats
schipes	<i>šips</i>	ships
wifes	<i>wāif's</i>	wife's
wulfes	<i>wulf's</i>	wolf's.

2. After Voiced Consonants or Vowels ME. final inflexional *s* appears as *z*.

bedes	<i>bedz</i>	beds
clōthes	<i>tlūaz</i>	clothes
daies	<i>dēz</i>	days
(dōth) does	<i>duz</i>	does
fēldes	<i>fīlds</i>	fields
loves	<i>luvz</i>	loves
pens	<i>penz</i>	pens.

3. ME. *s* has been dropped where it has been mistaken for a plural ending.

chemise	<i>šimi</i>	chemise
chery (Fr. čerise)	<i>tšeri, tširi</i>	cherry
pēs	<i>pēi</i>	pea
rēdels	<i>ridl</i>	riddle.

<sup>1</sup> The common word in the dialect is *bās* (*bus*).

4. *s* has been added during the ME. period (original plural forms).

ME.	OD.	NE.
belwe(s)	<i>baliz(iz)</i>	bellows
galwes	<i>galeziz</i>	braces
smal-pokke	<i>smōpoks</i>	small-pox
trewes	<i>treus</i>	truce.

Note: ME. *s* = French *s*:

1. French voiceless *s* remains as *s*.

bāsin	<i>bēsn</i>	basin
counseil	<i>kēunsil</i>	counsel

ME.	OD.	NE.
hospitalle	<i>q̄rspitl</i>	hospital
lossoun	<i>lesn</i>	lesson
sauce + age	<i>sosidž,</i> <i>sosindzər</i>	sausage.

2. ME. *s* (= Fr. *s*) + *i* > *š*.

misiōn	<i>mišn</i>	mission
nacion, nacioun	<i>nēšn</i>	nation
pacient	<i>pēšnt</i>	patient
special	<i>spēʃl</i>	special
staciōn	<i>stēʃn</i>	station
sücre, sügre (Lat. assūmere)	<i>šugər</i> <i>ašūm</i>	sugar assume.

## z.

### § 90.

ME. *z* occurs medially and finally.

I. Medially ME. *z* remains unchanged.

ME.	OD.	NE.
besom	<i>bīzm</i>	besom
frosen	<i>frozn</i>	frozen
husbonde(?)	<i>uzbānt</i>	husband
fēsaun	<i>feznt</i>	pheasant
prisoun	<i>prīzn</i>	prison.

II. ME. *z* has remained in NE. final position.

(as)sise	<i>sai:z</i>	size
chēse	<i>tšīz</i>	cheese
ēse + y	<i>jezi</i>	easy
plēse	<i>plez</i>	please
wīse	<i>wai:z</i>	wise.

Note: ME. *z* = French *z*:

ME. *z* (= Fr. *z*) remains as *z*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
excūsen	<i>ekskjūz</i>	excuse
mēsüre	<i>mezər</i>	measure
plēsüre	<i>plezər</i>	pleasure
preisen	<i>prez</i>	praise
refūsen	<i>rifjūz</i>	refuse
ūsen	<i>jūz</i>	use.

The form *trezər* for "treasure" is however not noted in any glossary of the OD., tho' it occurs in East Lincoln., cp. Wright EDD.

Note: *siðərz* (scissors) with *ð* for *z*, cp. Horn, Anglia-Beiblatt XVII, 64, and Ritter, Archiv CXV, 175.



š.

§ 91.

I. Initially ME. š has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
schadwe	šadə	shadow
schip	šip	ship
schutte	šut	shut
schort	šq̄rt	short.

II. Medially ME. š has also remained.

bisshop	bišəp	bishop
buschel	bušl	bushel
cuishin	kwīšin	cushion
musheroun	mušr̄eum	mushroom.

III. Finally.

1. ME. š has remained in  
α) ME. and β) NE. final positions.

α)		
busch	buš (buiš)	bush

ME.	OD.	NE.
disch	dīš	dish
fisch	fīš	fish
flesch	flēiš	flesh.
β)		
dasshe	daiš	dash
lasshe	laiš	lash
wasshe	wēiš, weš	wash
wisshe	wīš	wish.

2. In place of ME. sch we find s in:

asche	es	ash.
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Note: ME. sk > s in:

menske-ful	mensfu	decent, neat.
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Cp. Horn "Gutturallaute" p. 19 ff.

tš.

§ 92.

I. Initially.

ME. ch remains as tš.

ME.	OD.	NE.
chaine	tšian	chain
chalk	tšq̄k	chalk
chaunce	tšons	chance
chaunge	tšondž	change
chap (-man)	tšap	chap.

II. Medially.

1. ME. ch remains except in certain combinations.

boucher	butšə	butcher
kicchen	kitšən	kitchen
marchaunt	mārtsənt	merchant.

2. ME. lch (ltš), nch (ntš) have either remained as ltš, ntš or have become lš, tš as in lit. English

ME.	OD.	NE.
belke	bel(t)š	belch
(belche)		
bench	ben(t)š	bench
braunche	br̄qn(t)š bron(t)š	branch
inche	in(t)š	
wenche	wen(t)š	wench.

\* Note: Medially the combination ltš, ntš appears as ltš, ntš finally as lš, nš.



### III. Finally.

1. ME. *tš* remains in accented syllables (NE. final position).

ME.	OD.	NE.
bicche	<i>bitš</i>	bitch
blēche	<i>blē'tš</i>	bleach
focche	<i>fotš</i>	fetch
prēche	<i>prētš</i>	preach
sēche	<i>sītš</i>	seek.

Note: Observe *k* in *flik* (*flitš*) = *flich*.

2. ME. *ch* in unstressed syllables appears both as α) *dž*, and β) *tš*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
cartidge	<i>kār'tridž</i>	cartridge
knowlēche	<i>nolidž</i>	knowledge
β)		
cabbache	<i>kabitž</i>	cabbage
Northwiche	<i>Nōr'pwitš</i>	Northwich
ostriche	<i>ostritš</i>	ostrich.

## *dž.*

### § 93.

ME. *dž* appears in all positions, though it is occasionally pronounced *ž* in the combination *ndž*.

1. ME. *dž* (*ǵǵ*) = OE. *čǵ*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
brīǵǵe	<i>bridž</i>	bridge
eǵǵe	<i>edž</i>	edge
fleǵǵe	<i>fledž</i>	fledge
heǵǵe	<i>edž</i>	hedge
miǵǵe	<i>midž</i>	midge
riǵǵe	<i>ridž</i>	ridge
seǵǵe	<i>sedž</i>	sedge
weǵǵe	<i>wedž</i>	wedge.

Note: Observe the two forms *Magi* and *Madž* (= *Maggie* and *Madge*) side by side as contractions for *Margeret*.

2. ME. *dž* (*j, g*) = Fr. *g, j*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
ǵail	<i>džē'il</i>	jail
general	<i>dženaral</i>	general
joine	<i>džain</i>	join
jūge	<i>džudž</i>	judge
engin	<i>indžin</i>	engine
religioun	<i>rilidžan</i>	religion.

3. *dž* in the Combination *ndž*.

daunger	<i>dōn(d)žer</i>	danger
henge	<i>in(d)ž</i>	hinge
orenge	<i>orin(d)ž</i>	orange
straunge	<i>strōn(d)ž</i>	strange
straunger	<i>strōn(d)zə</i>	stranger.

Note: The combination *ndž* is pronounced indifferently as *ndž* or *nž*, tho' the former is the more usual pronunciation when it stands medially.

## *n.*

### § 94.

I. Initially *n* remains.

ME.	OD.	NE.
name	<i>nē'im</i>	name
nēdle	<i>nēdl</i>	needle

ME.	OD.	NE.
night	<i>nīt</i>	night
noise	<i>noiz</i>	noise
now	<i>neū</i>	now.

Note: *n* has, however, been dropped initially in the following words, it being falsely thought to belong to the indefinite article.

ME.	OD.	NE.
nadder, adder	<i>atər</i>	poison
napron	<i>apər<sup>n</sup></i>	apron
noumpēre	<i>umpəier</i>	umpire.

## II. Medially.

knē	<i>nī</i>	knee
knōwe	<i>nō</i>	know
gnar	<i>nārlt</i>	cross-tem- pered
snaw	<i>snō, snō</i>	snow
snoute	<i>sneut</i>	snout
binēde	<i>binīap</i>	beneath
enemi	<i>inimi</i>	enemy
honest	<i>onist</i>	honest
moni	<i>moni</i>	many
peniz	<i>peni</i>	penny
almande	<i>ōmand</i>	almond
bench	<i>bentš</i>	bench
counte	<i>keunt</i>	count
ground	<i>greund, grūn(d)</i>	ground
hunte(r)	<i>untər (unpər)</i>	hunter
mountaine	<i>meuntin</i>	mountain
round	<i>reund</i>	round
straunge	<i>strōndz</i>	strange.

## 2. *n* has been dropped.

### α) In the combination *ln*.

kilne	<i>kil</i>	kiln
milne	<i>mil</i>	mill.

### β) In the combination *mn*.

autumpne	<i>ōtām</i>	autumn
columne	<i>kolām</i>	column
dam(p)ne	<i>dom</i>	damn
ymp(n)e	<i>im</i>	hymn.

Note: *n* has been inserted medially in:

ME.	OD.	NE.
messaġer	<i>mesindžər</i>	messenger
passaġer	<i>pasindžər</i>	passenger
sauce-age	<i>sosindžər</i>	sausage.

Cp. Luick, Archiv CXIV, 76.

## III. Finally.

### 1. In ME. final position.

#### α) In stressed syllables *n* is retained.

boun	<i>bēun</i>	prepared, ready.
man, mon	<i>mon</i>	man
quēn	<i>kwīn</i>	queen
wīn	<i>wāin</i>	wine.

#### β) In unstressed syllables or words *n* is dropped.\*

in	<i>i</i>	in
an	<i>a</i>	an, a.

\* In some cases the *n* is still retained by analogy with inflected forms, cp. Köppel, Archiv CIV.

brazen	<i>brazn</i>	brazen
īren	<i>aiər<sup>n</sup></i>	iron
ōpen	<i>opn</i>	open
ōven	<i>ūn</i>	oven.

### 2. In NE. final position usually retained.

bitwēne	<i>bitwīn</i>	between
canne	<i>kon</i>	can, may
chaine	<i>tšian</i>	chain
droune	<i>dreun</i>	drown
foreine	<i>furin</i>	foreign
grēne	<i>grīn</i>	green.

# 1.

## § 95.

I. Initially. ME. *l* has remained unchanged in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
lamb	<i>lam, lom</i>	lamb
large	<i>lār dž</i>	large
lēde	<i>lād</i>	lead
level	<i>levl</i>	level
litel	<i>litl</i>	little
long	<i>long</i>	long
lōrd	<i>lōrd</i>	lord
lond	<i>lond</i>	land
love	<i>luv</i>	love.

II. Medially.

a) Consonant + *l*.

blame	<i>blēim</i>	blame
blōd	<i>blud</i>	blood
clēne	<i>tlīn</i>	clean
clēr	<i>tlīār</i>	clear
flesch	<i>flaīš, flēiš</i>	flesh, meat
flour	<i>fluar</i>	flour
flour	<i>fluar, flār</i>	flower
glad	<i>dīad</i>	glad
glōrie	<i>dlōri</i>	glory
place	<i>plēs</i>	place
pleie	<i>plei</i>	play
slēpe	<i>slīp</i>	sleep.

b) Before Vowels (and *w*).

colour	<i>kulār</i>	colour
delīt	<i>dilīt</i>	delight
Engeland	<i>Ingland</i>	England
felawe	<i>feli</i>	fellow
folwe	<i>folā(r)</i>	follow
galwes	<i>galāsis</i>	braces
wilwe	<i>wilā(r)</i>	willow.

c) Before Consonants.

ME. *l* has been dropped:

α) before Labials, β) before Gutturals, γ) before Dentals.

α) Before Labials (*v, f, m*).

ME.	OD.	NE.
calf	<i>kōv</i>	calf
half	<i>ōf, ōv (ēif, Rochdale)</i>	half
almannde	<i>ōmānd</i>	almond
almes	<i>ōmes, ōmz</i>	alms
bal(s)me	<i>bōm</i>	balm
calme	<i>kōm</i>	calm.

β) Before Gutturals.

balke	<i>bōk</i>	a log
folk	<i>fōk (fok)</i>	folk
talken	<i>tōk</i>	talk
walke	<i>wōk</i>	walk
zolke	<i>jōk</i>	yolk.

γ) Before Dentals.

alter	<i>ōtār</i>	alter
bāld	<i>bāud</i>	bold
balled	<i>bōd</i>	bald
bolt	<i>bant</i>	bolt
cōld	<i>kāud</i>	cold
colt	<i>kaut</i>	colt
fals	<i>fōs</i>	sly, cunning
fōlde	<i>fāud</i>	fold (vb)
gōld	<i>gāud</i>	gold
schulde*	<i>šud</i>	should
wolde,	<i>wud</i>	would.
wulde*		

\* Note: Unaccented Words.

III. Finally.

1. In ME. final position: α) *l* has generally remained after palatal vowels, β) has disappeared after velar vowels.

α) Final *l* retained.

al	<i>ōl (ō)</i>	all
crüél	<i>krūil</i>	cruel

ME.	OD.	NE.
dēl	<i>dīal</i>	deal
ful	<i>ful (fū)</i>	full
hōl	<i>wul</i>	whole.

β) Final *l* dropped.

al	<i>ō (ōl)</i>	all
ball	<i>bō</i>	ball
cōl	<i>kū</i>	cool
dōl	<i>dau</i>	dole
fōl	<i>fū</i>	fool
foul	<i>fēu</i>	foul
ful	<i>fū (ful)</i>	full
stol	<i>stū</i>	stool.

2. In NE. final position.

α) *l* has been retained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
ale	<i>ēil</i>	ale
falle	<i>fōl (fō)</i>	fall
fille	<i>fil</i>	fill
mille	<i>mil</i>	mill
soule	<i>saul</i>	soul
stēle	<i>stēil</i>	steal
tale	<i>tēil</i>	tale
telle	<i>tel</i>	tell.

β) *l* has been dropped.

calle	<i>kō</i>	call
falle	<i>fō, fo (fōl)</i>	fall.

*r.*

§ 96.

I. Initially. ME. *r* has remained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
rain, rein	<i>rēn</i>	rain
rēde	<i>rīd, rīad</i>	read
rēsonn	<i>rēzn</i>	reason
riche	<i>ritš</i>	rich
rīde	<i>rīd</i>	ride
ring	<i>riṅg</i>	ring
rivér	<i>riwər</i>	river
rōf	<i>rūf</i>	roof
rōte	<i>rūt</i>	root
roum	<i>reum</i>	room
round	<i>reund</i>	round.

II. Medially.

a) Consonant + *r*.

braunche	<i>brontš</i>	branch
bringe	<i>bring</i>	bring
crēpe	<i>krīp, krīap</i>	creep
crūne	<i>kreun</i>	crown
frē	<i>frī</i>	free
früt	<i>frūt</i>	fruit

ME.	OD.	NE.
grēne	<i>grīn</i>	green
prēst	<i>prēst</i>	priest
prīs	<i>prais</i>	price
schroud	<i>šraud</i>	shroud
sprēde	<i>sprīad</i>	spread
strēte	<i>strīt</i>	street
strif	<i>strīf</i>	strife
trē	<i>trī</i>	tree
wrīte	<i>rait</i>	write.

b) Before Vowels (and *w*) *r* is retained.

arwe	<i>arə</i>	arrow
berie	<i>beri, bəri</i>	berry
borwe	<i>bore(r)</i>	borrow
carie	<i>kari</i>	carry
marie	<i>mari</i>	marry
Marie	<i>Mē-ri (Mīari)</i>	Mary
mirie	<i>mari(meri)</i>	merry
sorwe	<i>sorə(r)</i>	sorrow
to-morwe	<i>tu-morə(r)</i>	to-morrow
verrai,	<i>veri, vəri</i>	very.
verrei		

c) Before Consonants.

α) ME. *r* has been much weakened, but mostly retained, cp. § 2, “*r*”.

ME.	OD.	NE.
arm	<i>ā<sup>r</sup>m</i>	arm
art, ert	<i>ā<sup>r</sup>t, ē<sup>r</sup>t</i>	art
cōrn	<i>kā<sup>r</sup>n</i>	corn
hard	<i>ā<sup>r</sup>d</i>	hard
harpe	<i>ā<sup>r</sup>p</i>	harp
kerve	<i>kā<sup>r</sup>v, kē<sup>r</sup>v</i>	carve
lērne	<i>lā<sup>r</sup>n</i>	learn
marbre, marble	<i>mā<sup>r</sup>bl</i>	marble
purpre	<i>pā<sup>r</sup>pl</i>	purple
scharp	<i>šā<sup>r</sup>p</i>	sharp
schort	<i>šō<sup>r</sup>t</i>	short
sēreve	<i>sā<sup>r</sup>v</i>	serve
word	<i>wā<sup>r</sup>d</i>	word
werk	<i>wā<sup>r</sup>k</i>	work (sb)
worth, wurth	<i>wā<sup>r</sup>p</i>	worth.

β) But before *s*, *r* has been dropped.

berste	<i>bust</i> ( <i>brast</i> )	burst
hors	<i>os</i>	horse
first	<i>fust, fost</i>	first
worse, wurse	<i>wus (wā<sup>r</sup>)</i>	worse
worsted	<i>wustid</i>	worsted.

Note: *uas* = *hoarse* < ME. *hōrs* or *hōs* had originally no *r*, cp. Hargreaves § 66, 2, Note.

d) Metathesis of ME. medial *r*.

α) Metathesis has taken place in:

berste	<i>brast</i>	burst
berne	<i>brun, brān</i>	burn
grinne	<i>gā<sup>r</sup>n</i>	grin

ME.	OD.	NE.
kirnel	<i>krindl</i> ( <i>kā<sup>r</sup>nel</i> )	kernel
scurf	<i>skruf</i>	scurf
hundred.	<i>undā<sup>r</sup>t</i>	humdred.

β) Double forms are to be found in:

firmenty	<i>fā<sup>r</sup>metri</i> <i>frāmetri</i>	frumenty a bake- stone.
gredil	<i>gridl</i> <i>gā<sup>r</sup>dl</i>	

Note: Contrary to the literary language, metathesis has not taken place in:

brid	<i>brid</i>	bird
crudde	<i>krud</i>	curd.

III. Finally.

In ME. and NE. Final Position *r* is retained in a strongly weakened form, cp. Note \*.

fāder	<i>fāḏā<sup>r</sup>, fēiḏā<sup>r</sup></i>	father
fir	<i>fāie<sup>r</sup></i>	fire
modor	<i>mudā<sup>r</sup></i>	mother
sūr, seūr	<i>šūā<sup>r</sup></i>	sure
tour	<i>teuā<sup>r</sup></i>	tower
bēre	<i>bēā<sup>r</sup></i>	bear
care	<i>kēā<sup>r</sup></i>	care
childre	<i>tšildā<sup>r</sup>, tšildā<sup>r</sup></i>	children
ēre	<i>īā<sup>r</sup></i>	ear
hēre	<i>īā<sup>r</sup></i>	here
mōre	<i>mūā<sup>r</sup></i>	more
oure	<i>euā<sup>r</sup></i>	our
philosophre	<i>filosofā<sup>r</sup></i>	philosopher
sterre	<i>stā<sup>r</sup></i>	star
theatre	<i>piētā<sup>r</sup></i>	theatre.

\* Note: When a word ending with *r* precedes one beginning with a vowel, the *r* is sounded strongly as in a medial position before a

vowel. Moreover an *r* is often inserted between two words in a sentence, when the first ends and the second begins with a vowel, or even weakly sounded after a word ending in a vowel, even when no word beginning with a vowel follows. Examples:

- a) *ǣrt gūin t(ə) ƿuar-aus?* = "Are you going to our house?"
- b) *ī wontid tǣ borǣr ə šilin ǣtū* = "he wanted to borrow a shilling or two."
- c) *wīv got ə bō-n-arǣr* = "we have got a bow and arrow."

### Appendix.

#### *tī, dī.*

ME. *tī, dī* do not become *tš, dž* in the OD., except some forms influenced by the lit. language (cp. Horn, Unters. p. 86 and following).

ME.	OD.	NE.
creatūre	<i>krētǣr,</i> <i>krētđǣr</i>	creature
fortūne	<i>fōrtin</i> <i>(fārtin)</i>	fortune
fournitūre	<i>fornitšǣr</i>	furniture
natūre	<i>nētǣr,</i> <i>nētđǣr</i>	nature
pictūre	<i>piktǣr</i>	picture

ME.	OD.	NE.
ruptūre	<i>raptǣr,</i> <i>rapsǣr</i>	rupture
Scriptūre	<i>Scripšǣr</i>	Scripture
(ad)ventūre	<i>ventǣr,</i> <i>ventđǣr</i>	venture
questioun	<i>kwestjan,</i> <i>kwestšan</i>	question
tune	<i>tjūn, tšūn</i>	tune
soudiour	<i>sāudžǣr,</i> <i>sōdžǣr</i>	soldier
Indian	<i>Indžan</i>	Indian.
Note: For <i>duke</i> &c. cp. § 33.		

### III. GUTTURALS.

#### *k.*

#### § 97.

##### I. Initially.

α) *k* preserved, except in certain combinations.

ME.	OD.	NE.
calf	<i>kǣv</i>	calf
can	<i>kon</i>	can
cōld	<i>kaud</i>	cold
crēpe	<i>krīp</i>	creep

ME.	OD.	NE.
keie	<i>kēi</i>	key
kilne	<i>kil</i>	kiln.

β) *k* is dropped before *n* as in lit. English.

knēde	<i>nēd, nīd</i>	knead
knē	<i>nī</i>	knee

ME.	OD.	NE.
knōwe	<i>nō</i>	know
knīf	<i>naif</i>	knife.

γ) *kl* > *tl*.

clemmen	<i>tlam, tlem</i>	to famish
clēne	<i>tlēn</i>	clean
clōth	<i>tlōp</i>	cloth
cloude	<i>tleud</i>	cloud
clokke	<i>tlok</i>	clock
clout	<i>tleut</i>	rag.

δ) ME. *kw* (*qu*) has mostly been preserved in the OD. — It occurs initially and medially.

1. *kw* preserved.

quāke	<i>kwēk</i>	quake
qvalitē	<i>kwaliti</i>	quality
qvarter	<i>kwārtdār</i>	quarter
quasi	<i>kwīzi</i>	qualmish
quēn	<i>kwīn</i>	queen
qvestioun	<i>kweštān</i>	question
qviēte	<i>kwaiet</i>	quiet
quishin	<i>kwīšin</i>	cushion.

(OFr. *cuissin*)

2. In a few isolated cases initial *kw* > *w* or *tw*.

quick	<i>wik</i>	quick, live
quilde	<i>twilt</i>	quilt (of a bed).

## II. Medially.

α) *kw* preserved (cp. I, δ).

acquainte	<i>akwēnt</i>	acquaint
begvēthe	<i>bikwīd</i>	bequeathe
consequent	<i>konsi-</i>	conse-
	<i>kwens</i>	quence
egval	<i>ēkwil</i>	equal
requīren	<i>rikwaiēr</i>	require.

β) *k* preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
scabbe	<i>skab</i>	scab
scars	<i>skār's</i>	scarce
scurf	<i>skrūf</i>	scurf
aker	<i>akār</i>	acre
acorn	<i>akār'n</i>	acorn
because	<i>bikoz</i>	because
licour	<i>likār</i>	liquor
huckstere	<i>ukstār</i>	huckster
encrees	<i>inkrīs</i>	increase.

γ) *kl* > *tl* (cp. I, γ).

inclinen	<i>intlāin</i>	incline
cokel	<i>kotl</i>	cockle
pikel + s	<i>pitlz</i>	pickles
sikel	<i>sitl</i>	sickle
twincle	<i>twintl</i>	twinkle.

Note: The following hyper-literary forms are occasionally found in the OD.

botel	<i>bokl</i>	bottle
ketel	<i>kek(e)l</i>	kettle
litel	<i>likl</i>	little.

δ) *k* dropped before *ed*.

croked	<i>krūt</i>	crooked.
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ε) *k* dropped between *s* and *l*.

muscle	<i>musl</i>	muscle.
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III. Finally (ME. and NE) *k* always remains.

brōk	<i>brūk</i>	brook
nōk	<i>nūk</i>	nook
ōk	<i>ōk</i>	oak
quick	<i>kwik</i>	quick
bāke	<i>bēk (bak)</i>	bake
māke	<i>mēk, mak</i>	make
tāke	<i>tek, tak</i>	take
walke	<i>wōk</i>	walk.



# g.

## § 98.

ME. *g* has remained unchanged, except initially before *l* and *n*.

### I. Initially.

#### α) *g* preserved.

ME.	OD.	NE.
gamen	<i>gam</i>	fun
gōld	<i>gaud</i>	gold
gras	<i>gras, gær's</i>	grass
girl, gerl	<i>gār'l</i>	girl
gesse	<i>ges</i>	guess.

#### β) *gl* > *dl*.

glad	<i>dlad</i>	glad
glas	<i>dlas</i>	glass
glorie	<i>dlōri</i>	glory
gloppned	<i>dlopnt</i>	terrified
glenten	<i>dlent</i>	a look, glance.

#### γ) *g* is dropped before *n*.

gnawe	<i>nō</i>	gnaw
gnat	<i>nat</i>	gnat

ME.	OD.	NE.
(gnarl)	<i>nārl</i>	gnarl
gnaste	<i>naš</i>	gnash.

Note: The following words are of Scandinavian origin:

<i>gift</i>	gift
<i>git</i>	get
<i>giv</i>	give
<i>forget</i>	forget
<i>fær'giv</i>	forgive.

### II. Medially *g* is preserved.

agō(n)	<i>agō</i>	ago
beginne	<i>bigin</i>	begin
forget	<i>fær'get</i>	forget
agree	<i>agrī</i>	agree
bügle	<i>bjūgl</i>	bugle
gingle	<i>džingl</i>	jingle.

### III. Finally *g* is preserved.

fig	<i>fig</i>	fig
leg	<i>leg</i>	leg
bagge	<i>bag</i>	bag
nagge	<i>nag</i>	horse
pegge	<i>peg</i>	peg.

## χ' (*ich-laut*).

## § 99.

ME. *χ'* has disappeared, the preceding vowel being lengthened:

ME.	OD.	NE.
bright	<i>brīt</i>	bright
fight	<i>fē't</i>	fight
light	<i>līt</i>	light

ME.	OD.	NE.
night	<i>nīt</i>	night
right	<i>rīt</i>	right
sight	<i>sīt</i>	sight
weight	<i>wē't</i>	weight.





χ (*ach-laut*).

§ 100.

ME. *gh* occurs medially and finally.

I. Medially.

α) ME. *gh* has dropped before *t*.

ME.	OD.	NE.
aught	<i>aut</i>	aught
brozte	<i>braut</i>	brought
doughter	<i>dautər</i>	daughter
feahte	<i>faut</i>	fought
naught	<i>naut</i>	naught
naught + y	<i>nauti</i>	naughty
slaughter	<i>slautər</i>	slaughter
thought	<i>þaut</i>	thought.

β) *gh* + *t* = *ft* in the following.

draught	<i>drauft</i>	draught.
	( <i>draut</i> , <i>drəit</i> )	

II. Finally.

1. ME. *gh* appears as *f* or is dropped. Most words in the dialect appear with both forms.

bough	<i>būf</i> , <i>bəf</i> ,	bough
(bōw)	<i>bū</i>	
chough	<i>tšauf</i>	chough
dough	<i>dauf</i> , <i>dōf</i>	dough
	<i>dof</i>	

ME.	OD.	NE.
dwergh	<i>dwōrf</i>	dwarf
inough	<i>inūf</i> , <i>inū</i>	enough
plough	<i>plū</i>	plough
(plow)		
rough	<i>rūf</i> , <i>rū</i>	rough
slough	<i>slāf</i> , <i>slau</i>	slough
	<i>đō</i>	
	(stressed)	
though	<i>đo</i>	though
	(unstr.)	
thuruh	<i>þruf</i> , <i>þrū</i> , <sup>1</sup>	through
	<i>þraf</i>	
tough	<i>tauf</i>	tough
trog	<i>trauf</i> , <i>trōf</i>	trough.

Note: The forms of substantives and adjectives without *f* are derived from the oblique cases (cp. Köppel, Archiv 104).

2. The change of OE. χ into *k* is found in:

*flē* (OE. = *flēik*, *flek* flea.  
*flēah*)

For explanation see Horn, Gutturallaute, p. 94.

γ.

§ 101.

I. Initially.

1. ME. *ȝ*, *y* (*j*) from OE. sources has remained in the OD.

ME.	OD.	NE.
<i>ȝē</i>	<i>je</i>	ye
<i>ȝē</i>	<i>jai</i>	yes, yea

ME.	OD.	NE.
zelde	<i>jēald</i>	yield
zelle	<i>jel</i>	yell
zelwe	<i>jala</i>	yellow
<i>ȝēr</i>	<i>jēr</i> , <i>jār</i>	year
zerd	<i>jār</i> , <i>jār</i>	yard
zesterday	<i>jestər</i>	yesterday

<sup>1</sup> The form *þruf* (*þraf*) is noted by Taylor as obsolescent.

ME.	OD.	NE.
ȝet	<i>jit</i>	yet
ȝon	<i>jon</i>	yon
ȝōng	<i>jung</i>	young
ȝure	<i>jā</i> <sup>r</sup>	your.

2. Initial ȝ had already disappeared in the ME. period in the following.

icche	<i>itš</i>	itch
if	<i>if</i>	if

ME.	OD.	NE.
inough	<i>inūf</i>	enough
(ȝewaer)	(ə) <i>war</i>	aware.
iwar		

## II. Medially.

ME. ȝ was lost during the ME. period in:

eȝe, eie	<i>ai</i>	eye
flēȝe, flīe	<i>flai</i>	fly
hēh, heigh	<i>hai</i>	high
nīne	<i>nain</i>	nine.

## ng.

### § 102.

Note: In the OD. *ŋ* is never found alone, being always followed by *g*, this *g*, when final, being occasionally hardened to *k* under the influence of neighbouring dialects (Ashton).

#### I. Medially *ŋg* is retained.

ME.	OD.	NE.
England	<i>Inglond</i>	England
finger	<i>fingər</i>	finger
langage	<i>langwidž</i> <sup>1</sup>	language
lengre, lenger	<i>longər</i>	longer
singer	<i>singər</i>	singer
stronger	<i>strongər</i>	stronger.

#### II. Finally.

a) ME. *ŋg* is retained in accented syllables.

king	<i>king</i>	king
(lang) long	<i>long</i>	long
ring	<i>ring</i>	ring

ME.	OD.	NE.
(strang)	<i>strong</i>	strong
strong		
thing	<i>þing</i>	thing.

Note: Nearly all the above are found also with the ending *ŋk*, these forms being imported from Ashton. The same remark applies to the words which follow under b).

b) *ŋg* (final) has become *n* in the present participles of all verbs and in substantives of more than one syllable, i. e. in all unaccented positions.

#### α)

swilling	<i>swilin</i>	swilling
swelowing	<i>swalərin</i>	swallowing
werking	<i>wərtšin</i>	working

#### β)

ferthing	<i>fārdin</i>	farthing
lerning	<i>lār nin</i>	learning

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the insertion of *w* in *langwidž* cp. Köppel, "Spelling Pronunciations" p. 23, 2.

ME.	OD.	NE.
nothing	<i>nuþin</i>	nothing
schilling	<i>šilin</i>	shilling.

Also in:

among	<i>amūn</i>	among.
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Note: *ŋ* is sometimes wrongly put for *n* at the end of words,

cp. *mēunting* = mountain, *kārting* (*kārtnār*) curtain (hyperliterary English).

Similarly *ŋg* has been inserted in the word *milingtārī* = military.

### § 103.

ME. *ŋk* remains both medially and finally.

#### I. Medially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
anker	<i>onkār</i>	anchor
ankel	<i>onk(ə)l</i>	ankle
conqueren	<i>konkār</i>	conquer
drunken	<i>drunkn</i>	drunken
uncle	<i>unkl</i>	uncle.

II. Finally (ME. and NE. final position).

bank	<i>bonk</i>	bank
------	-------------	------

ME.	OD.	NE.
dank	<i>danþk</i>	dank
monk	<i>monþk</i>	monk
drinke	<i>drinþk</i>	drink
sinke	<i>sinþk</i>	sink
stinke	<i>stinþk</i>	stink.

In the combination *ngth* the OD. has often *ŋkþ*.

length	<i>lenþkþ</i>	length
strength	<i>streŋkþ</i>	strength.

## IV. ASPIRATE.

*h*.

### § 104.

ME. *h* has mostly disappeared. — It only occurs initially and medially when sounded at all.\*

#### I. Initially.

ME.	OD.	NE.
happene	<i>apn</i>	happen
hēr	<i>ēār</i>	hair
hero	<i>īaro</i>	hero
honest	<i>onist</i>	honest

ME.	OD.	NE.
hous	<i>ēus</i>	house
hundred	<i>undār t,</i> <i>undārt</i>	hundred.

\* Note: When the word is strongly stressed, an initial *h* is sometimes sounded. Hyperliterary forms with an etymologically unjustifiable *h* are also frequent e. g.:

ME.	OD.	NE.
appel	<i>hapl</i>	apple
asse	<i>has</i>	ass.

II. Medially.

behāve	<i>bi-ē'v</i>	behave
behinde	<i>bi-aind</i> ( <i>bihənt</i> )	behind

ME.	OD.	NE.
enhabiten	<i>inabit</i>	inhabit
reherce	<i>ri-ē's</i>	rehearse.

Note: Medial *h* is hardly ever sounded.

Note: For the prefixing of *j*, after the dropping of *h*, cp. § 16, 2.

## PART. II.

# ACCIDENCE.

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### CHAPTER V.

## NOUNS.

### I. FORMATION OF THE PLURAL.

#### § 105.

##### a) Ordinary Plural Endings.

The usual method of forming the plural in the OD. is by the addition of *s*, *z* or *iz*.

1. Plural in *s*. Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than *s*, *š*, add *s* to form the plural, e. g.: *brūk* (brook), *brūks*; *kat* (cat), *kats*; *top* (top), *tops*; *rūf* (roof), *rūfs*.

2. Plural in *z*. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than *z* or *ž*, add *z* to form the plural, e. g.: *kəu* (cow), *kəuz*; *flai* (fly), *flaiz*; *flūər* (floor), *flūərz*; *kitlin* (kitlen), *kitlinz*.

3. Plural in *iz*. Nouns ending in *s*, *š*, *z* or *ž* add *iz* to form the plural, e. g.: *las* (lass), *lasiz*; *fēs* (face), *fēsiz* [observe, however, *əus* (house), pl. *əuziz*]; *matš* (match), *matšiz*; *nuəz* (nose), *nuəziz*; *bridž* (bridge), *bridžiz*.

##### b) Final Stem-Sound (Stammauslaut).

1. Nouns ending in *f* preceded by a vowel or *l* change the *f* into *v*, e. g.: *ləif* (life), *ləivz*; *nəif* (knife), *nəivz*; *p̄if* (thief), *p̄ivz*; *wəif* (wife), *wəivz*; *wulf* (wolf), *wulvz*. — Exceptions: *ūfs* (hoofs); *rūfs* (roofs); *stafs* (staffs); *tlifs* (cliffs).

Note: Nouns ending in *lf* have changed the *f* into *v* in the Sing. by analogy with the plural, e. g.: *ōv* (half), *q̄vz*; *kq̄v* (calf), *kq̄vz*.

2. Nouns ending in *p* sometimes change the *p* into *đ* (*p* is usually preserved), e. g.: *mēup* (mouth), *mēudž*; *trēup* (truth), *trēudž*; — but *baṗ* (bath), *baṗs*; *pāṗ* (path), *paṗs* &c.

Note: The *p* has dropped in the pl. form *tlōz* (clothes).

### c) Plurals formed otherwise than by *s*-suffix.

1. Plurals in *n*. Plurals in *n* are still found in: *ī* (eye), *īn*; *šū* (shoe), *šūn*; *oks* (ox), *oksən*, or *eksən* (almost obsolete, cp. Taylor).

2. Plurals in *ər*. The only one still remaining is: *tsailt* (child), *tšildər*.

3. Plurals with “Umlaut”: *fut* (foot), *fīt*; *gūs* (goose), *gīs*; *lēus* (louse), *lāis*; *mēus* (mouse), *māis*; *tūṗ* (tooth), *tīṗ*; *man*, *mon* (man), *men*. — Observe: *wumən* (woman), *wimin*.

4. Singular and Plural are alike in the following: *bias* = beast, beasts<sup>1</sup>; *es* (*as*) = ash, ashes; *fīš* = fish, fishes; *šīp* = sheep.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure and number, when preceded by a cardinal number, have singular and plural alike, e. g.: *faiw munṗ* = five months; *siks wīk* = six weeks; *sevn mēil* = seven miles; *prī tun* = three tons; *ēīt pēund* = eight pounds; *fōər* (*fēuər*) *ēuns* = four ounces; *ten skōər* = ten score; *ilevn jārđ* = eleven yards, &c.

5. Nouns used only in the plural: *aksinz* (askings) = banns of marriage; *bođəmz* = sediments; *līts* = lights (lungs) of animals; *mēzłz* = measles; *sidərz* = scissors; *trēuziz* = trousers; *tunğz* = tongs.

Note: A double plural is found in *galəziz* = braces.

## II. FORMATION OF THE GENITIVE.

The Genitive is formed as in the literary language: *ēuər mudərz* *ēus* = our mother's house; *jōr wentšiz ats* = your girl's hats.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. § 85, III.

## CHAPTER VI.

# ADJECTIVES.

## COMPARISON.

### § 106.

I. Regular Comparison. The Comparative is formed by the addition of *-əʳ* and the Superlative by that of *-ist* to the Positive. This rule is not confined to adjectives of one or two syllables only as in lit. English, *mūəʳ*, *mūəst* (*mūist*, *mwoſt*) may also be, and often are used together with the forms in *-əʳ* and *-ist*, e. g.: *pik* — *pikəʳ* — *pikist*; *krūil* — *krūiləʳ* — *krūilist*; *bjūtiful* — *bjūtifuləʳ* — *bjūtifulist*.

Any of the above may also be compared with *mūəʳ*, *mūist*, e. g.: *mūəʳ krūil* — *mūist krūil*; or with *mūəʳ*, *mūist* and the termination *əʳ*, *-ist*, e. g.: *mūəʳ pikəʳ* — *mūist pikist* (Contamination; cp. Paul, Principien<sup>2</sup> p. 139, Horn, Anglia-Beiblatt XVI, 136).

II. 'Irregular' Comparison: *bad, il* (bad, ill) — *wus, wəʳ* — *wust*; *far, fəʳ* (far) — *fəʳdər, fḡʳdər* — *fəʳdist, fḡʳdist*; *lēt* (late) — *lēteʳ* — *lētist, lǎst*; *litl* (little) — *les* (*littləʳ*) — *lǎst*; *moni* (many), *mitš* (much) — *mūəʳ* — *mūəst, mūist, mwost*; *nīəʳ* (near), *nəi* (nigh) — *nīərəʳ, nəiəʳ, nāʳ* — *nīərist, nəi-ist, nekst*.

## CHAPTER VII.

# ARTICLE.

### § 107.

The definite article is *p̣*, *ḍ* or rarely *ṭ*.

1. *p̣* is commonly used before unvoiced consonants, e. g.: *p̣'pārson* the parson; *i'p̣təun* into the town; *p̣'pəip* the pipe; *p̣'kəu* the cow.

2. *ḍ* is commonly used before voiced consonants, e. g.: *ətop-əḍ-brəu* at the top of the hill; *iḋḋār̄k* in the dark; *ḍgardnəʳ* the gardener.

3. *ṭ* is sometimes used, where *p̣* might be expected, e. g.: *oftsmel* = off the smell.

The above rules are by no means invariable. Of the three forms, *p̄* is much the commonest.

Note 1: The form (*t*)*p̄* given by Hargreaves is not found in the OD.

Note 2: In expressions denoting anger or surprise, the fuller forms *ḏā* (or *ḏi* before vowels) is used, e. g.: *ū ḏā devl̥z ḏiʔ*? who the devil is there? *wot ḏi el ārt dūin*? what the hell art thou doing?

The indefinite article is *ə* both before vowels and consonants e. g.: *ə ɛus* a house, *ə mon* a man.

## CHAPTER VIII.

# PRONOUNS.

## 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

### § 108.

#### First Person.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	<i>ā, q̄</i> ( <i>a o, ə</i> )	<i>wi</i> ( <i>us</i> )
Obj.	<i>mī, (mī)</i>	<i>us, uz</i> ( <i>əz</i> ).

#### Second Person.

Nom.	<i>ḏā, (ḏā, ḏə, tə)</i>	<i>jḡ, jo</i> ( <i>jə</i> )
Obj.	<i>ḏi (ḏi)</i>	<i>jḡ, jo</i> ( <i>jə</i> ).

#### Third Person.

Masc.	}	
Nom.		<i>ī</i> ( <i>i</i> )
Obj.		<i>im</i>
Tem.		
Nom.		<i>ū</i> ( <i>u</i> )
Obj.		<i>ār</i> ( <i>əʔ</i> )
Neut.	}	
Nom.		<i>it</i>
Obj.		<i>it</i>
		Nom. <i>ḏēi</i> ( <i>ḏi</i> )
		Obj. <i>ḏem, um, (əm 'm)</i> .

Note: In the above Table the forms in brackets are unaccented.



EXAMPLES:

**The Nom. Case.** — First Person: *o (a) dūn-nō, bāt ī duz.* = I don't know, but he does; *gi mi sumāt tēt* = give me something to eat; *ū akst mi wār ī wār, an a taud ēr* = she asked me where he was and I told her. — *wi šanna ev (av) tā nok sē ofn* = we shall not have to knock so often; *mūn ūs (əs) sing. pīyksta?* = must we sing, dost thou think? *īz taud ūs wi mūn (mān) gū* = he's told us we must go.

Second Person: *ḍa mōrnd* or *ḍa mūn-nā* = thou must not; *Wār ārt(ə) guin?* = Where art thou going (to)? [The form *-ta, -tə* is only enclitic]; *an oni on jō oni on it?* = have any of you any of it? *jō mūn (mān) tel ūs (əs)* = you must tell us. — In the dialect the second person singular is still used for ordinary intercourse except to strangers or superiors, though in Oldham *jō* and *jō* is not always used even then.

Third Person: For the Masc. Sing. there is only one form *ī* whether in accented or unaccented position: e. g. *ī nōs wot a mīn* = he knows what I mean; *wots ī want?* = what does he want? — In the Fem. Sing. OE. *heo* has regularly developed to *ū*, (*u*) thus *hēo* > *heō* (transposition of accent) > *hō* > (*h*)*ū*: e. g. *ūz wātšīn at Skots* = she is working at Scott's (mill): *ī taud ēr ēz ū'd aftu (aftu) gū* = he told her she would have to go. — In the Neut. Sing. there is only one form *it* e. g. *mūn (mān) ūs giv it im* = must we give it to him? — Plurals: *ḍār nōn sēutəd* = they are not suited (= pleased), *gi(v) it am* = give it them (thrash them)!

**The Objective Case.** 1. The Objective is regularly used instead of the Nominative case after the verb "to be" in all persons, sometimes even before it, e. g.: *its mī, ḍī, im, &c.* = it is I, thou, he, e. g.: *im an mī'z palz* = he and I are partners.

2. The Objective case is often used reflexively, e. g.: *īz plēin im* = he is playing (i. e. out of work), *Kēuār ḍi dēun wāil a pau ḍi jūār* = sit down while I cut your hair; *est(ə) dond ḍi (sen)?* = have you dressed yourself?

3. The Objective case is also used as subject when the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the verb by a subordinate sentence, e. g.: *ḍem ēz ḍā mīnz wārnt (woznt) ḍīār (ḍār) nō au.* — 'Those you mean weren't there at any rate, cp. Sweet NEG. § 1085.

## 2. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

### § 109.

I. Conjoint. Sing.: *māi (mī), ḍā (ḍī), iz, ēr (ēr).*

Plur.: *ēuār, us, jōr (jēr), ḍār (ḍār).*

The forms in brackets are the unaccented ones.

Note: Hargreaves has a form *wār* as unaccented form of *ēuār*, but I have never come across it in the OD.

EXAMPLES: *ḍats māi at* = that's my hat; *tak (tek) ḍu traps an bī of!* = take your things and be off! — *ī saud iz wātš an ēr brūātš an q* = he sold

his watch and her brooch as well; *ū livz (wunz) in ɣuə ɣus* = she lives at our house; *win bin ētin us poritš* = we have been eating our porridge; *an jo gotn jə (jor) bras, ladz?* = have got your money, lads!

II. Absolute. Sing.: *məin, dəin, iz, əz, its*. Plur.: *ɣuəz,\* jəz,\* dəz*.

\* Note: The older forms *euən* and *jörn* are now obsolescent.

EXAMPLES: *is dat jəz?* = is that yours; *jai, its ɣuəz* = yes, it's ours; *Nəu, il nōn get ə peni ə məin* = No, he 'll not get a penny of mine.

### 3. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

#### § 110.

Sing.: 1. *misél, misén*; 2. *disél, disén*; 3. *iz-sél, iz-sén, əsél, əsén, itsél (is-sél), itsén (is-sén)*.

Plur.: 1. *ɣursél(z), ɣursén, us-sél(z), ʊs-sén*; 2. *jərsel(z), jərsen*; 3. *dərsélz, dərsén*.

The Accent is always on the second syllable. The plural forms can be used with or without the ending *z*.

### 4. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

#### § 111.

Sing.: *dis* (this); *dat* (that); *jon* (yon).

Plur.: *dis* (these); *dem, dūz* (those); *jon* (you); *dis, dūz* are often followed by *ɪə* = here; *dat, dem* and *dūz* by *dɪə* = there.

EXAMPLES: *dis ɪə feli'z gəmləs* = this fellow here is half-witted; *dem dɪə poritəz iznt wʊp tʊpens* = Those potatoes aren't worth twopence. *dem* is used more frequently than *dūz*.

### 5. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

#### § 112.

Masc. and Fem. Nom. Obj.: *uə? ū?* Gen.: *uəz? ūz?*

Neut.: *wot? witš?*

EXAMPLES: *ūz dɪə?* who is there? *ūz iz it? its nōn Bilz.* = Whose is it, it is not Bill's; *witš wiltə ev (av)?* Which will you have?

### 6. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

#### § 113.

Masc. and Fem.: *əz, u(ə), wot*. Neut.: *əz, wot*.

When the antecedent is not expressed, *u (uə)* and *wot* are used, e. g.: *tak (tek) wot dəs(t) got* = take what you' ve got; *ɪ nəs ū ɪ mʊn gi(v) it tu* = he knows who he must give it to.

When the antecedent is expressed, *az* and *wot* are used for all genders, e. g.: *it wər sē'm las az a sīd əfūər* = it was the same lass that I saw before; *im wot taud mi* = he that told me; *ḏəm keuz az wər saud* = those cows that were sold.

## 7. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

### § 114.

*sum* (some), *sumbri* (somebody), *sumət* (something), *ənūf*, *ənū* (enough), *tupri* (a few), *evri*, *ivri* (every), *ō* (all), *ani* (any), *anibri* (anybody), *moni* (many), *tōn* (the one of two), *aut* (anything), *naut* (nothing), *els* (else), *sitš* (such), *qḏər*, *ēḏər* (either), *nqḏər* (neither), *uḏər* (other), *nō* (no), *nōn* (none, often used in sense of not).

## CHAPTER IX.

## NUMERALS.

### § 115.

Cardinals: *won*, *tū*, *prī*, *fqər*, *fāiv*, *siks*, *sevn*, *ait* (*ē't*), *nain*, *ten*, (*i*)*levn*, *twelv*, *pərtin* (*pārtīn*), *fqərtīn*, *fiftīn*, *undərt*, *ḏeusənt*.

Ordinals: *fust* (*fost*), *seknd*, *pərd* (*pārd*), *fqrḥ*, *fift*, *sikst*, *sevnt*, *ēitḏ*, &c.

Adverbial Numerals: *wonts*, *twəis*, *prəis*, *pri taimz*, *fōər taims*.

In Composition we have *tupri* = "two or three", i. e. a few: *Ūz gotn ə tupri pəund sumwīər* = she's got a few pounds somewhere.

## CHAPTER X.

## VERBS.

### I. FORMATION OF TENSES.

#### A. STRONG VERBS.

### § 116.

Strong Verbs from their Preterite by Ablaut (Gradation). Following the example of Wright and Hargreaves, I have arranged them as far as possible into classes as in Sievers' "A. S. Grammar".

Class I.

§ 117.

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>ī</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
ME. <i>ī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
(h) <i>aid</i> (hide)	(h) <i>ud</i>		<i>hud</i>
<i>bait</i> (bite)	<i>bōt</i>		<i>bōt, bitn.</i>
<i>draiv</i> (drive)	<i>drōv</i>		<i>drivn</i>
<i>raid</i> (ride)	<i>rōd</i>		<i>ridn</i>
<i>rait</i> (write)	<i>rōt</i>		<i>rōt, ritn</i>
<i>rāiv</i> (rive)	<i>rōv</i>		<i>rivn</i>
<i>rāiz</i> (risze)	<i>roz</i>		<i>riz</i>
<i>straid</i> (stride)	<i>strōd</i>		<i>stridn</i>
<i>strāik, sprāik</i> (strike)	<i>struk, strok</i>		<i>strok, strukn</i>
<i>šit</i> (cacare)	<i>šit</i>		<i>šitn</i>
<i>prāiv</i> (thrive)	<i>prov</i>		<i>privn.</i>

Note: *aid* (OE. *hȳdan*) was weak in OE. — *dāiv* = dive which is given by Hargreaves as strong in this list is weak in OD. [Pret. *dāift*, P. P. *dāift*] as it was also in OE. — *rāiv* [ME. *riven*] is of Scand. origin and also *prāiv* [ME. *prīven*], cp. Björkman, p. 224.

Class II.

§ 118.

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>eo</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
ME. <i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
<i>flāw, flāi</i> (fly)	<i>flū</i>	<i>flaun</i>
<i>frīz</i> (freeze)	<i>frōz</i>	<i>frozn</i>
<i>krīp</i> (creep)	<i>krōp</i>	<i>kropn, krōp</i>
<i>šut</i> (shoot)	<i>šot</i>	<i>šot</i>
<i>tšūz</i> (choose)	<i>tšōz</i>	<i>tšozn.</i>

Class III.

§ 119.

This Class had three divisions in OE.: 1. Verbs having a Nasal + Cons., 2. *l* + Cons., 3. *r, h* + Cons. All the verbs originally belonging to 2. have become weak. In subdivision 3. the only strong forms remaining are *fait* (fight), *brast* (burst).

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>i</i>	<i>a, o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
ME. <i>i</i>	<i>ā, ō</i>	<i>u, o</i>	<i>u, o, ou.</i>

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
a)		
<i>bigin</i> (begin)	<i>bigun</i>	<i>bigun</i>
<i>bəind</i> (bind)	<i>bun(d)</i>	<i>bun(d)</i>
<i>bring</i> (bring)	<i>braut</i>	<i>braut</i>
<i>fəind</i> (find)	<i>fun(d), fon</i>	<i>fun(d), fon</i>
<i>grəind</i> (grind)	<i>grun</i>	<i>grun</i>
<i>run</i> (run)	<i>run</i>	<i>run</i>
<i>spin</i> (spin)	<i>spun</i>	<i>spun</i>
<i>swim</i> (swim)	<i>swum</i>	<i>swum</i>
<i>win</i> (win)	<i>wun, wan</i>	<i>wun</i>
b)		
<i>dring̃k, dđring̃k</i> (drink)	<i>druñk (drañk)</i>	<i>druñk(n)</i>
<i>ring̃</i> (ring)	<i>ruñg (rañg)</i>	<i>ruñg</i>
<i>sing̃</i> (sink)	<i>suñg</i>	<i>suñg</i>
<i>siñk</i> (sink)	<i>suñk</i>	<i>suñk(n)</i>
<i>sliñk</i> (slink)	<i>sluñk</i>	<i>sluñk</i>
<i>spring̃</i> (spring)	<i>spruñg</i>	<i>spruñg</i>
<i>stiñg</i> (sting)	<i>stuñg</i>	<i>stuñg</i>
<i>stiñk</i> (stink)	<i>stuñk, stañk</i>	<i>stuñk</i>
<i>swing̃</i> (swing)	<i>swuñg</i>	<i>swuñg</i>
<i>tliñg</i> (cling)	<i>tluñg</i>	<i>tluñg</i>
<i>šriñk</i> (shrink)	<i>šruñk (šrañk)</i>	<i>šruñk.</i>
<i>fəit</i> (fight)	<i>faut</i>	<i>faut, fautn</i>
<i>brast</i> (burst)	<i>brastid</i>	<i>(brastid) brosn.</i>

#### Class IV.

##### § 120.

Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>o</i>
ME. <i>ē, e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>

Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
<i>brē<sup>i</sup>k</i> (break)	<i>brōk</i>	<i>broken</i>
<i>štē<sup>i</sup>l</i> (steal)	<i>stūl</i> *	<i>staun</i> *
<i>tē<sup>r</sup></i> (tear)	<i>tōr, tōrt</i> *	<i>tō<sup>r</sup>n</i>
<i>wē<sup>ə</sup>r</i> (wear) *	<i>wōr</i>	<i>wōr, wō<sup>r</sup>n.</i>

\* Note: *wē<sup>ə</sup>r* (OE. *werian*) was originally weak. — Peculiar is the form *stūl* which is not found in the Adlington Dialect. — *tort* is a weak-strong form.

*kūm* (come)                      *kūm*                      *komn, kum̃n.*

*komn* (*kum̃n*) has preserved its ME. ending in the OD. which it has lost in the neighbouring dialects.

Class V.

§ 121.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE.	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>e</i>
ME.	<i>ē, ê</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē.</i>

	Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
1.			
	<i>nē'd</i> (need)	<i>nē'did, nē'dəd</i>	<i>nē'dəd</i>
	<i>spē'k</i> (speak)	<i>spōk</i>	<i>spokn</i>
	<i>trē'd</i> (tread)	<i>trōd</i>	<i>trodn</i>
	<i>wē'v</i> (weave)	<i>we'vd, wē'ft</i>	<i>wovn</i>
	<i>ē't</i> (eat)	<i>īt</i>	<i>et(ə)n.</i>
2.			
	<i>get</i> (get)	<i>gīt</i>	<i>getn</i>
	<i>gi, giv</i> (give)	<i>gan</i>	<i>gan</i>
	<i>sī</i> (see)	<i>sīd</i>	<i>sīn (sin)</i>
	<i>sit</i> (sit)	<i>sīt</i>	<i>sit*</i>
	<i>stik</i> (stick)*	<i>stuk</i>	<i>stukn</i>
	<i>dig</i> (dig)*	<i>dug</i>	<i>dug(n).</i>

\* Note: These two verbs were weak in OE. — The form *sīt* for *sit* P. P. is obsolete in the OD.

Class VI.

§ 122.

	Inf.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past. Part.
OE.	<i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>
ME.	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a.</i>

	Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
	<i>drē, drō</i> (draw)	<i>drū</i>	<i>drōn</i>
	<i>stōnd</i> (stand)	<i>stūd</i>	<i>stūd(n)</i>
	<i>tek, tak</i> (take)	<i>tūk</i>	<i>takn, tēn</i>
	<i>swōr</i> (swear)	<i>swōr</i>	<i>swōr'n.</i>

Class VII (Reduplicating Verbs).

§ 123.

<i>uṅg</i> (hang)	<i>uṅg</i>	<i>uṅg</i>
<i>let</i> (let)	<i>let, līt</i>	<i>letn</i>
<i>fō</i> (fall)	<i>fōd</i>	<i>fōn (fōd)</i>
<i>bjet</i> (beat)	<i>bīt</i>	<i>bjetn</i>
<i>grū</i> (grow)	<i>grū</i>	<i>grūn</i>
<i>blō</i> (blow)	<i>blū, blōd</i>	<i>blōn</i>
<i>mō</i> (mow)	<i>mōd</i>	<i>mōn</i>
<i>nō</i> (know)	<i>njū. nōd</i>	<i>nōn, nōd.</i>

## B. WEAK VERBS.

### I. Preterite and Past Participle in *ad* (*id*).

Inf.	Pret.	P. P.
<i>fret</i> (fret)	<i>fretad</i> ( <i>fretid</i> )	<i>fretad</i>
<i>lit</i> (light)	<i>lītid</i> ( <i>let</i> )	<i>lītid</i> ( <i>let</i> )
<i>melt</i> (melt)	<i>meltad</i>	<i>meltad</i>
<i>sūt</i> (suit)	<i>sūtad</i> ( <i>sūtīd</i> )	<i>sūtad</i> ( <i>sūtīd</i> )
<i>trēt</i> (treat)	<i>trētad</i> ( <i>trētīd</i> )	<i>trētad</i> ( <i>trētīd</i> )
<i>wīt</i> (wet)	<i>wītad</i>	<i>wītad</i>
<i>aud</i> (hold)	<i>auded</i>	<i>audad</i> .

### II. Preterite and Past Participle in *d*.

#### a) Verbs in which the vowel remains unchanged:

<i>brū</i> (brew)	<i>brud</i>	<i>brūd</i>
<i>īar</i> (hear)	<i>īard</i>	<i>īard</i>
<i>lē, lī</i> (lay)	<i>lēd</i>	<i>lēd</i>
<i>mak</i> (make)	<i>mēd</i>	<i>mēd</i>
<i>rū</i> (rue)	<i>rūd</i>	<i>rūd</i>
<i>sē, se</i> (say)	<i>sed</i>	<i>sed</i>
<i>sō</i> (sow, sew)	<i>sōd</i>	<i>sōn</i>
<i>šō</i> (shew)	<i>šōd</i>	<i>šōn</i>
<i>šū</i> (shoe)	<i>šūd</i>	<i>šud</i>
<i>tšū</i> (chew)	<i>tšūd</i>	<i>tsūd</i> .

#### b) Verbs which change the vowel and add *d* to the stem:

<i>sel</i> (sell)	<i>saud</i>	<i>saud</i>
<i>tel</i> (tell)	<i>taud</i>	<i>taud</i>
<i>tīm</i> (teem, pour out)	<i>temd</i>	<i>temd</i> .

#### c) Verbs which change the vowel and have *d* in the stem:

<i>blīd</i> (bleed)	<i>bled</i>	<i>bled</i>
<i>brīd</i> (breed)	<i>bred</i>	<i>bred</i>
<i>fīd</i> (feed)	<i>fed</i>	<i>fed</i> .

### III. Preterite and Past Participle in *-t*.

#### a) Verbs with unchanged vowel and original *t*, *d* in the stem:

1.

<i>it</i> (hit)	<i>it</i>	<i>it</i>
<i>kost</i> (cost)	<i>kost</i>	<i>kost</i>
<i>kut</i> (cut)	<i>kut</i>	<i>kut</i>
<i>nīt</i> (knit)	<i>nīt</i>	<i>nīt</i>
<i>ort, ȳrt</i> (hurt)	<i>ort, ȳrt</i>	<i>ort, ȳrt</i>
<i>put, pȳt</i> (put)	<i>put, pȳt</i>	<i>put, pȳt</i>
<i>swīat</i> (sweat)	<i>swet</i>	<i>swet</i> .

Note: *swīat* seems to be an importation from Yorkshire, cp. Wright § 381.



Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
2.		
<i>bend</i> (bend)	<i>bent</i>	<i>bent</i>
<i>bild</i> (build)	<i>bilt</i>	<i>bilt</i>
<i>send</i> (send)	<i>sent</i>	<i>sent</i>
<i>skrat</i> (scratch)	<i>skrat</i>	<i>skrat</i>
<i>spend</i> (spend)	<i>spent</i>	<i>spent.</i>

3.		
<i>wed</i> (wed)	<i>wed</i>	<i>wed.</i>

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel which add *t* to the stem:

1.		
<i>elp</i> (help)	<i>elpt</i>	<i>elpt</i>
<i>katš</i> (catch)	<i>katšt</i>	<i>katšt</i>
<i>kis</i> (kiss)	<i>kist</i>	<i>kist</i>
<i>rētš</i> (reach)	<i>rētšt</i>	<i>rētšt</i>
<i>sūtš</i> (seek)	<i>sūtšt</i>	<i>sūtšt</i>
<i>šēk</i> (shake)	<i>šēkt</i>	<i>šēkt</i>
<i>šēp</i> — <i>šap</i> (shape)	<i>šapt</i>	<i>šapt</i>
<i>šēv</i> (shave)	<i>šēft</i>	<i>šēft</i>
<i>wēiš</i> (wash)	<i>wēišt</i>	<i>wēišt</i>
<i>wārtš</i> (work)	<i>wārtšt</i>	<i>wārtšt.</i>

2.		
<i>brun</i> (burn)	<i>brunt</i>	<i>brunt</i>
<i>lan(d)</i> (lend)	<i>lant</i>	<i>lant</i>
<i>lān</i> (lean)	<i>lēnt</i>	<i>lēnt</i>
<i>smel</i> (smell)	<i>smelt</i>	<i>smelt</i>
<i>spel</i> (spell)	<i>spelt</i>	<i>spelt</i>
<i>spil</i> (spill)	<i>spilt</i>	<i>spilt</i>
<i>spail</i> (spoil)	<i>spailt</i>	<i>spailt</i>
<i>šain</i> (shine)	<i>šaint</i>	<i>šaint</i>
<i>wakn</i> (waken)	<i>waknt</i>	<i>waknt.</i>

c) Verbs with Vowel Change and original *t* in stem:

<i>mīt</i> (meet)	<i>met</i>	<i>met.</i>
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d) Verbs with Vowel Change which add *t* to the stem:

<i>bai</i> (buy)	<i>baut</i>	<i>baut</i>
<i>bring</i> (bring)	<i>braut</i>	<i>braut</i>
<i>drīam, dīrīam</i> (dream)	<i>dremt, dremt</i>	<i>dremt, dremt</i>
<i>fīl</i> (feel)	<i>felt</i>	<i>felt</i>
<i>kīp</i> (keep)	<i>kept</i>	<i>kept</i>
<i>lāv</i> (leave)	<i>laft</i>	<i>laft</i>
<i>lūz, lōz</i> (lose)	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>
<i>mīan</i> (mean)	<i>ment</i>	<i>ment</i>
<i>nīl</i> (kneel)	<i>nelt</i>	<i>nelt</i>



Inf.	Pret.	Past. Part.
<i>pīp</i> (peep)	<i>pept</i>	<i>pept</i>
<i>slīp</i> (sleep)	<i>slept</i>	<i>slept</i>
<i>swīp</i> (sweep)	<i>swept</i>	<i>swept</i>
<i>tē'ts</i> (teach)	<i>tē'tst</i> ( <i>taut</i> )	<i>tē'tšt</i> ( <i>taut</i> )
<i>hīnk</i> (think)	<i>hant</i>	<i>hant.</i>

## II. VERBAL ENDINGS.

### § 124.

**Present.** The first person singular has no ending, the second and third person singular ends in *s* (after voiced sounds *z*) and *is* or *iz* after the spirants *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*. The plural mostly ends in *ən* throughout, but the first and third person are sometimes the same as the third person singular, while the second person has no ending.

Present Sing.	1. <i>elp</i> ( <i>help</i> )	<i>wə'tš</i> ( <i>work</i> )
	2. <i>elps</i>	<i>wə'tšəz</i>
	3. <i>elps</i>	<i>wə'tšəz</i>
Plur.	1. <i>elpən</i> ( <i>elps</i> )	<i>wə'tšən</i> ( <i>wə'tšəz</i> )
	2. <i>elpən</i> ( <i>elp</i> )	<i>wə'tšən</i> ( <i>wə'tš</i> )
	3. <i>elpən</i> ( <i>elps</i> )	<i>wə'tšən</i> ( <i>wə'tšəz</i> )
Preterite	<i>elpt</i>	<i>wə'tšt</i>
Imperative	<i>elp</i>	<i>wə'tš</i>
Infinitive	<i>elp</i>	<i>wə'tš</i>
Present Participle	<i>elpin</i> *	<i>wə'tšin</i> *
Past Participle	<i>elpt</i>	<i>wə'tšt.</i>

\* For *-in* < *ing* in the Pres. Participle, cp. § 62, IIb.

The Subjunctive Mood has disappeared except in certain phrases, e. g. "*if a (o) wər dī*" = "if I were you". The future, the perfect tenses and the passive voices are formed as in literary English.

Table of Tenses.

Tense	Indefinite	Imperfect and Continuous	Perfect	Perfect and Continuous
Present	$\begin{matrix} a) \\ o) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} a) \\ o) \end{matrix}} \right\} wərtš \\ = I \text{ work}$	$\begin{matrix} am) \\ om) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} am) \\ om) \end{matrix}} \right\} wərtšin \\ = I \text{ am} \\ \text{working}$	$\begin{matrix} av) \\ ov) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} av) \\ ov) \end{matrix}} \right\} wərtšt \\ = I \text{ have} \\ \text{worked}$	$\begin{matrix} av) \\ ov) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} av) \\ ov) \end{matrix}} \right\} bin wərtšin \\ = I \text{ have been} \\ \text{working}$
Preterite	$\begin{matrix} a) \\ o) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} a) \\ o) \end{matrix}} \right\} wərtšt \\ = I \text{ worked}$	$\begin{matrix} a) \\ o) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} a) \\ o) \end{matrix}} \right\} wə wərtšin \\ \bar{q}ər wərtšin \\ = I \text{ was} \\ \text{working}$	$ad wərtšt \\ = I \text{ had} \\ \text{worked}$	$ad bin wərtšin \\ = I \text{ had} \\ \text{working}$
Future	$\begin{matrix} as) \\ os) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} as) \\ os) \end{matrix}} \right\} wərtš \\ = I \text{ shall} \\ \text{work}$	$\begin{matrix} as) \\ os) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} as) \\ os) \end{matrix}} \right\} bi(n) \\ wərtšin \\ = I \text{ shall be} \\ \text{working}$	$\begin{matrix} as e) \\ os ə) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} as e) \\ os ə) \end{matrix}} \right\} wərtšt \\ os(t) ə wərtšt \\ = I \text{ shall have} \\ \text{worked}$	$\begin{matrix} as e) \\ os ə) \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} as e) \\ os ə) \end{matrix}} \right\} bin wərtšin \\ os(t) ə bin \\ wərtšin \\ = I \text{ shall have} \\ \text{been working}$

Notes: In the OD. a *t* is inserted in the Future Perfect and the Fut. Perf. and Continuous Tenses. This does not appear to be the case in neighbouring dialects. —

The ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. Sing is used with plural nouns, especially in a relative clause, e. g.: *ðem əz laiks kon av mūər* = those who like can have more. — *ðin q̄ getn wed* = they are all getting wed (married); *a kud laik tə sī wot s̄q̄rtə stuf ðə driŋkən* = I should like to see what sort of stuff they drink? After the personal pronouns the ending *-ən* is always used: *ðə plēin fut-bō ivri de<sup>i</sup>* = they play football every day.

The literary English form without ending for the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. is also found thus: *ðe wərtš at Plats* = they work at Platts (a large Oldham iron-works).

## ANOMALOUS VERBS.

### 1. Can.

Pres. Strong form *kon*, weak form *kn*.

Pret. Strong form *kud*, weak form *kəd*.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Sing. 1. *a, o, kon* or *kn*. Plur. *wi kon* or *kn*.

2. *ða kon* or *kn*.

*jo, jə kon* or *kn*.

3. *ī, ū, it kon* or *kn*.

*ðe, ði kon* or *kn*.

Preterite.

Pret. *kud* or *kəd*  
&c.

*kud* or *kəd*  
&c.

Negatively.

Pres. *a, o konət* or (*kṡr̄nd*)\*      Pret. *a, o kudnd(t)*.

Note: In Oldham proper the forms are *konət* and *kudnt*, in Hollinwood, a southern suburb, *konər* and *kudnər*. The form *kṡr̄nd* is rare.

Interrogatively.

Present.

Sing. 1. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i> ) <i>a?</i>	Plur. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i> ) <i>wi, us, əs?</i>
2. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i> ) <i>ḁa, tə?*</i>	<i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i> ) <i>jə, jə?</i>
3. <i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i> ) <i>ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>kon</i> (or <i>kn</i> ) <i>ḁē, ḁi, ḁe?</i>

\* Note: The enclitic form *tə* is the one preferred in Oldham.

Interrogative-Negatively.

1. <i>konət a, o?</i>	<i>konət wi?</i>
2. <i>kontno?*</i>	<i>konət jo, je?</i>
3. <i>kont* ī ū, it?</i>	<i>konət ḁē, ḁi, ḁə?</i>

\* Note: The contracted forms in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. Sing.

*kud* is sometimes used in the Infinitive e. g.: *a jūs tə kud* = "I used to be able (to do it)".

2. *Dare.*

Pres.

*a dər* = I dare  
*a dərnt, dərənə* = I dare not  
*dər a?* = dare I  
*dərnt, dərsnt a?* = dare I not.

Pret.

*a dər* = I dared  
*a dərsnt* = I dare not  
*dər a?* = dared I  
*dərsnt a?* did I not dare?

The preterite and past participle *dərd* = challenged, e. g.: *ī dərḁ im tə kum ət ən fəit* = he challenged him to come out and fight.

3. *Shall.*

Present-Affirmatively.

Sing.

1. *a, o, šal* (form *as, os*)  
2. *ḁa, ḁə šal* (*ḁas*)  
3. *ī, ū, šal, šul* (*īs, us*)

Plur.

*wi šal* (weak form *wis* [*t* before vowel])\*  
*jə šul* or *šan* (*jəs*)  
*ḁi, ḁe šal, šul, šan* (*ḁis*).

\* Note: In the first pers. plural of the affirmative form the strong form seldom occurs.

Negatively.

Sing.	Plur.
<i>a, o šanə, &amp;c.</i>	<i>wi šanə, &amp;c.</i>

Interrogatively.

1. <i>šal a, o?</i>	<i>šal or šan wi, us, əs?</i>
2. <i>saltə?</i>	<i>šal or šan jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>šal ī, ū?</i>	<i>šal or šan dē, dī, dē?</i>

In the plural the form *šan* is preferred.

Interrogative-Negatively.

<i>šanət a, o? &amp;c.</i>	<i>šanə(t) wi, us, əs? &amp;c.</i>
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Preterite. Affirmatively.

<i>a, o šud, šəɪ</i>	<i>wi šud, šəd</i>
<i>da šud, šəd</i>	<i>jo, jə šud, šəd</i>
<i>ī, ū, it šud, šəd</i>	<i>də, dī šud, šəd.</i>

Negatively.

<i>a, o šudnt, šədnt &amp;c.</i>	<i>wi šudnt, šədnt &amp;c.</i>
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Interrogatively.

<i>šud, šəd a, o? &amp;c.</i>	<i>šud, šəd wi, us, əs? &amp;c.</i>
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Negative-Interrogatively.

<i>šudnt, šədnt a? &amp;c.</i>	<i>šudnt, šədnt wi? &amp;c.</i>
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The weak forms are generally used only with pronouns.

4. *May*.

Present.

<i>a me (mi) &amp;c.</i>	<i>wi me (mi) &amp;c.</i>
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Preterite.

<i>a met &amp;c.</i>	<i>wi met &amp;c.</i>
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Note: The use of *kon* for *me* in the present, found in the neighbouring dialect, does not extend to Oldham (cp. Hargreaves, § 116).

For the Interrogative *mon*, *mʊn*, *mən* is used for the Present tense, e. g.:

Sing.	Plur.
<i>mon a? &amp;c.</i>	<i>mon (mun, mən) wi, us, əs &amp;c.</i>

e. g.: *mən əs sɪŋ, ɪŋksta?* = may (or shall) we sing, do you think?

Preterite.

<i>met a? &amp;c.</i>	<i>met wi &amp;c.</i>
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### Negatively.

Sing.	Plur.
<i>a mænə</i> (I may, must not)	<i>wi mænə</i>
<i>mænət a?</i>	<i>mænə(t) wi?</i>

Note: The Adlington form *mutnt* is not found in the OD., cp. Hargreaves § 116.

### 5. Must.

To express the lit. Engl. *must*, the Scandinavian *munn*, *mann* is used: strong form *mon*, weak form *mʊn*, *mæn* the forms of the first person singular and plural are as follows:

Sing.	Plur.
<i>a, o mon</i> ( <i>mʊn</i> , <i>mæn</i> )	<i>wi mon</i>
<i>a, o mænə</i> (I must not)	<i>wi mænə</i>
<i>mon, mæn a?</i> (must I?)	<i>mæn əs?</i>
<i>mænət a, o?</i> (must I not?)	<i>mænət əs?</i>

Note: The Adlington form *mō'nd* is rare in the OD. Also the weak form *mæn* is regularly used negatively.

For the Preterite the same forms are used as above, but the form *met* is also used occasionally in the same sense.

### 6. ought.

*aut* is uninflected for all persons; observe: *a autnt* or *didnt aut* = I ought not; *autnt a* or *didnt a aut?* = ought I not?

### 7. Have.

Pres. Strong Form *av*, *a*, *an*; weak *əv*, *ə*, *ən*.

Pret. Strong Form *ad*; weak *əd*.

Before consonants the form *a* or *ə* are always used, tho' *ə* is commoner, e. g.: *as a (ə) dʏn inau* = I shall have done presently; but *il av it əfūə' əts lʏŋ* = he will have it before (its) long. —

In both Pres. and Pret. the vowels disappear in the weak forms when preceded by the nominative of the personal pronouns, e. g.: *q̄v* = I have. *win* = we have; *ad s̄in im* = I had seen him. Sometimes the verb disappears altogether, e. g.: *ḏe mad əm* = they have made them; *wi lost it* = we have lost it. This is the case before vowels mostly cp. *win etn it* = we have eaten it. The *z* of the second and third person singular becomes *s* before voiceless consonants: e. g.: *astə?* = hast thou!

### Affirmatively.

Present.	
Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>a av; qv</i>	<i>wi av; win (wiv)</i>
2. <i>da az; daz daz</i>	<i>jo av, an; jēn, jən</i>
3. <i>ī, ū, it az; īz, ūz, its</i>	<i>de, di, da av, an; din.</i>

Preterite.	
1. <i>a ad; ād, qd, əd</i>	<i>wi ad; wīd</i>
2. <i>da ad; dād, dad</i>	<i>&amp;c.</i>

Infinitive *av, a, ə*.

Present Participle *avin*.

Past. Participle *ad, əd*.

### Negatively.

Present.	
1. <i>a anə</i>	<i>wi anə</i>
2. <i>da, da aznə</i>	<i>jo, jə anə</i>
3. <i>ī, ū, it aznə</i>	<i>de anə.</i>

Preterite.	
<i>a adnə</i>	<i>wi adnə.</i>

Note: The Adlington forms differ considerably from the above, cp. Hargreaves § 119.

### Interrogatively.

Present.	
1. <i>av a?</i>	<i>an wi? (av wi?)</i>
2. <i>(az da?) astə?</i>	<i>an, av jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>az ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>an, av de, di, de?</i>

The *an* form is much commoner in the OD.

Preterite.	
<i>ad a? &amp;c.</i>	<i>ad wi? &amp;c.</i>

### Interrogative-Negatively.

1. <i>anət a?</i>	<i>anə(t) wi? anət wi?</i>
2. <i>astnə?</i>	<i>anə(t) jo? jə?</i>
3. <i>aznt ī, or aznə ī, ū &amp;c.</i>	<i>anət di?</i>

Preterite.	
<i>adnt a? &amp;c.</i>	<i>adnt wi? &amp;c.</i>

The Plural forms of the Present given above are only used with the personal pronouns. In all other cases the forms of the second and third person singular are used thus: *az, əz (s)*, e. g.: *az dem wentšəz gūn wom?* = have those

girls gone home? *dem d̄ieʳ ladz əz bin f̄eitin* = those lads have been fighting. The same forms are also used with the first pers. sing when combined with a relative, e. g.: *its m̄i əz əz fon it* = It was I who found it.

### 8. Be.

#### Affirmatively.

##### Present.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>ā am; q̄m; am</i>	<i>wi āʳ, wāʳ, wəʳ</i>
2. <i>ḍa āʳ; ḍəu, ḍa aʳt; ḍəʳt</i>	<i>jə, je aʳ; jəʳ, jeʳ</i>
3. <i>ī, ū, it iz; iz, ūz, its</i>	<i>d̄ē, d̄i, d̄e aʳ; d̄əʳ, d̄əʳ.</i>

##### Preterite.

1. <i>a wāʳ, wəʳ</i>	<i>wī, wi wāʳ, wəʳ</i> = we were
2. <i>ḍa wəʳ(t)</i>	&c.
3. <i>ī wāʳ, wəʳ.</i>	

Infinitive *bī, bi.*

Pres. Part. [*bī'in*].

Past. Part. *bin.*

#### Negatively.

##### Present.

1. <i>am, om not, nət or nōn</i>	<i>wīʳ, wəʳ not, nət, nōn</i>
2. <i>ḍəʳt not, nət or nōn</i>	<i>jōʳ, jəʳ not, nət, nōn</i>
3. <i>iz, ūz, its not, nət or nōn</i>	<i>d̄əʳ, d̄əʳ not, nət, nōn.</i>

##### Preterite.

<i>a, o wāʳnt, wəʳnt &amp;c.</i>	<i>wī, wāʳnt &amp;c.</i>
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#### Interrogatively.

##### Present.

1. <i>am a, o?</i>	<i>āʳ wi or us?</i>
2. <i>aʳtə? (aʳt ḍa?)</i>	<i>āʳ jə or jə?</i>
3. <i>iz, i, ū, it?</i>	<i>āʳ d̄ē, d̄i, d̄e?</i>

##### Preterite.

<i>wāʳ, weʳ a?</i>	<i>wāʳ, wəʳ wi, us? &amp;c.</i>
<i>wəʳtə? (wəʳt ḍa?) &amp;c.</i>	

#### Interrogative-Negatively.

##### Present.

1. <i>amti? amta?</i>	<i>aʳnə(t) wi?</i>
2. <i>aʳtnə?</i>	<i>aʳnt jə (jə)?</i>
3. <i>iznə(r) } ī, ū, it?</i> <i>iznt }</i>	<i>aʳnə(t) d̄i?</i>

Note: The forms in brackets are the less common. A comparison of these forms with those of Adlington and Windhill show the intermediate stage occupied by the OD. very well.

Preterite.

Sing.

*wǎʳnt a, o? &c.*

Plur.

*wǎʳnt wi, us?*

The above forms of the present are used only in combination with the pronouns, in other cases the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing is used, e. g.: *ðem ɣuziz iznt let jet* = those houses are not let yet; *ðəʳz sʊm ɒn əm əz duznt nō nō difrənt* = there are some of them who do not know any better; *ðəʳz sʊm feliz əz kn nəvəʳ ət inūf* = there are some fellows who can never eat enough.

The Vowel disappears, or is assimilated to the foregoing vowel of the subject in the weak forms of the present, e. g.: *ðəʳ at it əgen* = they are at it again — *am (om) nōn redi jet.* = I am not ready yet. —

9. Will.

Present: strong form *wil*, weak *əl*, which loses its vowel in combination with pronouns.

Preterite: strong form *wud*, weak form *əd* which also loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns, e. g.: *ad (od) lan(d) ði ə tʊpri šilin but a konət dū (djū) beut it neʊ* = I would lend you a shilling or two, but I cannot do without it now.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Sing.

1. *a, o wil; əl, ɔl, ol*
2. *ða wil; ðaul, ðeul*
3. *ī, ū, it wil; īl, ūl, itl*

Plur.

- wi wil; wīl, wil, win*
- jo, jə wil; jol, jəl, jon*
- ðē, ði, ðe wil; ðēl, ðil, ðel.*

Note: Of the above plural forms *win, jon, ðil* are the most used.

Preterite.

*a, o wud, wəd; ɔd, ad, əd &c. wi wud, wəd; wīd, wid &c.*

Negatively.

Present.

1. *a winə, əl nōn wi winə, wīl nōn &c.*
2. *ða, ðə winə, ðal, ðəl nōn &c.*

Preterite.

*a, o wudnt &c. wi wudnt &c.*



## Interrogatively.

### Present.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>wil a, o?</i>	<i>win wi?</i>
2. <i>wilta, wiltə?</i>	<i>win jo, jə?</i>
3. <i>wil ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>win ċi?</i>

### Preterite.

1. <i>wud a, o?</i>	<i>wud wi, us, əs?</i>
2. <i>wud ċa, tə? &amp;c.</i>	<i>wud jo, jə &amp;c.</i>

## Interrogative-Negatively.

### Present.

1. <i>winət, wint a?</i>	<i>winət, wint wi?</i>
2. <i>wiltna?</i>	<i>winə jə?</i>
3. <i>wint ī, ū, it?</i>	<i>winə ċi?</i>

Note: The shortened form *wint* is preferred for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing., the form *winət* for the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. plur., and the form *winə* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plur.

### Preterite.

1. <i>wudnt a? wədnt a?</i>	<i>wudnt wi?</i>
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For the 1<sup>st</sup> pers Sing. and Plur. in all the interrogative forms, the verb *shall* (q. v.) is sometimes used.

## 10. Do.

*do* as an independent verb is conjugated like any other verb. In the Preterite *did* is used for all persons Sing. and Plur.

## Affirmatively.

### Present.

1. <i>a dū?</i>	<i>wi</i>	} <i>dū, dun.</i>
2. <i>ċa duz</i>	<i>jo, jə</i>	
3. <i>ī, ū, it du(z)</i>	<i>ċe, ċi</i>	

## Negatively.

1. <i>a dō<sup>r</sup>nt, də<sup>r</sup>nt</i>	<i>wi</i>	} <i>dō<sup>r</sup>nt, də<sup>r</sup>nt.</i>
2. <i>ċa duzent</i>	<i>jo, jə</i>	
3. <i>ī, ū, it duzent</i>	<i>ċe, ċi</i>	

### Interrogatively.

Sing.		Plur.
1. <i>dū a, o?</i>		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} wi? \\ jo, jə? \\ \bar{d}ē, \bar{d}i? \end{array} \right.$
2. <i>duz ḁa? dust(ə)?</i>	<i>dun, dən</i>	
3. <i>duz ī, ū, it?</i>		

### Interrogative-Negatively.

*dunət a? dō'nt a?*                      *dunət wi &c.*  
*duznt ḁa? dunət na?*  
*duznt, dunət ī, ū, it?*

Pres. Part.: *duin.*

Past. Part.: *dun, dən.*

In the form *dustə* = dost thou? the *ə* is sometimes dropped before consonants thus *dust nō?* = dost thou know?

Note: The Verb *do* is not used so frequently to ask questions as in literary English, e. g.: *šud a siṅg, piṅksta?* = should I sing, dost thou think?

## A p p e n d i x.

### ADVERBS.

#### § 125.

Adverbs of Manner and Degree mostly end in *-li*, e. g.: *ārdli* = hardly, *qkārṭli* = awkwardly. In *suārḁlī* the stress is on the suffix.

*apn* = perhaps; *eu* = how; *eu-iver* = however; *ən q̄ (ḁ)* = and all, too, as well.

Notes: 1. On the use of *eu*: *a dūnō ez eu 'it matə'z* = I don't think it is of much consequence.

In interrogative sentences "how" is often replaced by *witš rḁd?* thus *witš rḁd (rḁd) mən əs biḡin?* = how must we begin?

2. On the use of *ən q̄ (ḁ)*: *ī wil ḁat ən q̄* = "he will that, and no mistake" (strengthening sense).

*qləz, ḡləz* = always; *tū* = too, also; *sḡ (sḡ)* = so, but *ū wə' ḁat mad* = she was so angry.

*veri* = very, often replaced by *sūm* thus: *ī wə' sūm mad, ī wə'* = he was very angry (that) he was; *veri nīw'* almost, *wai?* = why? *wīl* = well (Interjection *wəl!*)

"Also" is expressed, as seen above, by *tu* and *ən q̄*. "Thus" by *ḁis rḁd*, or *ḁat rḁd* = "this road" or "that road".

Adverbs of Place: *oniwīār* = anywhere; *īār* = here; *jon* = yonder; *sumwīār* = somewhere; *đīār* (*đār*) = there; *wīār* (*ūār*) = where?

Adverbs of Time: *evār*, *ivār* = ever; *jet* = yet; *justārđēī* (*juspārđēī*) = yesterday; *nēu* = now; *nivār* = never; *oft* = often; *sin* = since; *sūn* = soon; *tādēī* = to-day; *tāmq̄rn* (*t'mōrn*) = to-morrow; *tānīt* (*t'nīt*) = to-night; *den* = then; *inau* = presently; *wen* = when.

Affirmative and Negative Particles: *ai*, *jai*, *ā* = yes; *nāu*, *nēu* (stressed) *nō* (unstr.) = no; *nōn*, *not* = not (also *nāt*, *nt* when unstressed).

## PREPOSITIONS.

### § 126.

*aftār* (*afđār*) = after; *afōār*, *afūār* = before; *bi* = by; *bi-int*, *bihant* = behind; *dēun* = down; *a*, *av* (only before vowels) = of; *abēut* = about; *bēut* = without; *abūn* = above; *āgen* = again; *agin* = against; *alun̄g* = along; *amun̄g* = among; *bisaid* = besides; *astid a* = instead of; *fār* = for; *frā* = from; *in*, *i* = in (*i* is more used, even before vowels); *intā* = into; *nīār*, *nai* = near; *but obāt* = except [*obār* in Hollinwood, see map]; *nobāt*, *nobār* (Holl.) = only; *on*, *o* = on; *oār* = over; *sin* = since; *tā*, *til* = to, as far as (e. g. *wi went veri nīār til Audām* = we went almost as far as Oldham); *prū* (*praf*, *pruf*) = through; *undār*, *undār* = under; *up*, *op* = up; *wi* = with.

## CONJUNCTIONS.

### § 127.

*but* = but; *bikos*, *kos* = because (sometimes *koz*); *an* = and; *az* = that (*dat* is never used as a conjunction); *if*, *iv* = if; *nodār* (*nōdār*) = neither; *q̄dār*, *ōdār*, *ēdār* = either; *nār* = than, always used in comparisons<sup>1</sup> cp. *īz bigār nār mī* = he is bigger than I; *wail* = until cp. *wi mən wīt (wet) wail ī kumz* = we must wait until he comes.

<sup>1</sup> For explanation cp. Horn, Archiv CXIV, 360.

## *SPECIMENS.*<sup>1</sup>

### I.

#### *Sam o Dukiz Kūa'tšip (Brierley).*

*Sam.* đeu-ərt swilin đī kōt ɛut aud krētəʀ.

*Mary.* iz đat jo, Sam.?

*S.* ə bit əpəud tərmit. Eɥ aʀtə, aud wentš?

*M.* Om əz rūt əz fəʀ penəp ə kopəʀ. Eɥ əʀ jo, Sam?

*S.* Wel, đā sīz, mi tšins getin nār mi gāʀtəʀz nər it jūstəʀbi, on e fūl ə bit šēʀki opə mi props; bət om sɛund əbɛutʰp hārnel ən kwəit lediš əbɛutʰpjəd. đā lūks prəim aud damzel. Eɥ əʀp tšildəʀ?

*M.* ē, đin q̄ getin wed obət ɛuəʀ Sērə, ən ūl nō bi lɔŋ fəʀ ūz kūəʀtin veri drī.

*S.* əi, əi, wot sūəʀt ə səns ən dautəʀz in lq̄ ast getn? āʀ đe ov ə farəntli mak?

*M.* Midlin. Tū ev ɛuəʀ wentšəz əʀ wed tə koljəʀz getin gud wēʀdžiz, bət đe kn ēʀt weli q̄ de getn, ən ɛuəʀ Džō əz wed ə manti-mākəʀ, bət ū əznə mitš wāʀk bikoʀ wentšiz əbɛut ɪəʀ ən bigən dū.in đəʀ ɔn sō.in.

*S.* q̄, đəʀt getin kwəit əmɔŋgʰp kwaliti, a jēr, đɛul bi ləʀnin tə tq̄k fəin nekst ən getin ə tinklin boks ipɛus, đq̄ ə pɪŋk đəi fɪŋgəʀz əʀ rēʀđəʀ tə wāʀk prɛud fəʀ tə dū mitš miūsik ə đat sūəʀt. Kēʀđəʀ mjūsik əz bin mūəʀ i đəi rq̄d. Wot sūəʀt əv ə tšəp əz jəʀ Sērə getn?

*M.* q̄, iz ə kwaliti grēʀdli, ɛuəʀ Sērəʀz feli iz, ɪ wəʀz ə watš ən gəz intə Bār Pāʀləʀz.

*S.* əi, duʒ ɪ wəʀ əwatš? A dunə laik đat. O nivəʀ niū ə mon jət ət wq̄əʀ ə watš bət ɪ went tū fāst, ɪ wəʀ sūəʀ tə galop wen ɪ

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<sup>1</sup> The translations are as nearly literal as possible.

## SPECIMENS.

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### I.

#### **Sam of Ducky's Courtship (Brierley).**

- S. You are swilling your (pig) sty out, old creature.
- M. Is that you, Sam?
- S. A bit of the old turnip. How are you, old wench?
- M. As right as four penny-worth of copper. How are you, Sam?
- S. Well, you see, my chin is getting nearer my garters than it used to be, and I feel a bit shaky upon my props (legs) but I'm sound about the kernel and quite laddish (juvenile) about the head. You look prime, old damsel. How are the children?
- M. Eh, they have all got wed (married) but our Sarah, and she will not be long, for she is courting very busily.
- S. Yes, yes. What sort of sons and daughters-in-law have you got? Are they of a good make? (= are they respectable).
- M. Middling. Two of our wenches are wed to colliers, getting good wages, but they can eat nearly all they get (earn) and our Joe has wed a mantle-maker, but she has not much work because the wenches about here have begun doing their own sewing.
- S. Oh, you are getting among the quality (fine folk) I hear, you will be learning to talk fine (speak lit. Engl.) next and (be) getting a tinkling-box (piano) into the house. Though I think your fingers are rather too work-proud for to do much music of that sort. Cradle-music has been more in your road (line). What sort of a chap has your Sarah got?
- M. Oh, he's a quality indeed (a grand person) is our Sarah's sweetheart, he wears a watch and goes into Bar Parlours.
- S. Oh, does he wear a watch? I don't like that. I never knew a man yet that wore a watch, but (he) went too fast, he was sure to gallop when he should have walked, and get to the

šud a wōkt, ən get tǝpend ev iz bant i nō taim, ən az fǝr gūin  
intǝ Bǝr Pǝrlǝrʒ, a nivǝr sō mitš sens kum ɛut a dǝr. Iv dǝ  
getn a bit a jūǝr opǝ dǝr top lip ən a fǝin wǝrd ǝr tū i dǝr  
mǝuʃ en kn tikǝl a bǝr mǝ'd bǝut getin a klǝut op said op jed,  
dǝ pinkn dǝr evribodi wen dǝr nǝbdi ǝtp sǝim taim. Om dǝun  
on ǝm spǝšli if dǝr ǝts iz grǝsi ən dǝr jūǝr ǝz ǝili ǝz ʃ'midl  
ǝv a kǝrtwīl, ən dǝr trǝuziz klatǝrt ǝd bopm, ən dǝr dikiz ǝbǝut  
ʃ'kolǝr ǝv a mǝ'ri-gaud ən ǝz moni ringz on dǝr fingǝrʒ ǝz ǝd  
mak a d'ǝg-tšǝn, o wudno giv a skǝdin a krǝbz fǝr a wul kenil-  
ful a sitš-lǝik welps.

## II.

*Kum wom tǝ 'dǝ tšildǝr ən mǝ (Waugh)<sup>1</sup>.*

1. Ov dǝust mendid ʃ'fǝiǝr wi a kob  
Aud Swadl ǝz braut dǝ njū šūn  
dǝrʒ sum nǝis bǝkn kolǝps opob  
ən a kwǝrt a hǝl posit ip ūn  
ov braut dǝ top kwot dust nō  
fǝr ʃrǝns kumin dǝun veri drǝ  
ən ʃǝrʃstūǝn'ʒ ǝz wǝit ǝz njū snō  
kum wom tǝ dǝ tšildǝr en mǝ.

2. wen a put litl Sali tǝ bed  
ū kraid koz ǝr fǝ'dǝr wǝrnt dǝr  
sō o kist t'litl ʃing ən o sed  
dǝd bring ǝr a ribin froʃ fǝr  
ən o giv ǝr ǝr dol en sum ragz  
ən a nǝis litl wǝit kotn bō  
ən o kist ǝr ǝgen; but ū sed  
ǝz ū wantid tǝ kis dǝ ən ǝ.

3. ən Dik tū, ǝd sitš wǝrk wi im  
ǝfūǝr o kǝd get im up stǝrʒ;  
dǝ taud im dǝd bring im a drom

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<sup>1</sup> The same poem may also to be found in Hargreaves p. 114.

end of his tether in no time, and as for going into Bar Parlours. I never saw much sense come out of there. If they get a bit of hair on the top of their lip and a fine word or two in their mouth and can tickle a bar-maid without getting a blow on the side of the head they think they are everybody when they're nobody at the same time. I'm down on them especially if their hats are greasy (if they use hair-oil) and their hair is as oily as the middle of a cartwheel, and their trousers are dirtied (ragged) at the bottom and their dickies (shirt fronts) about the colour of a marigold (yellow) and as many rings on their fingers as would make a dog-chain. I would not give a scalding of crabs (the smallest trifle) for a whole kennel-full of such like whelps.

## II.

### **Come home to your children and me (Waugh).**

1. I've just mended the fire with a cob,  
Old Swaddle has brought your new shoes.  
There are some nice bacon collops on the hob,  
And a quart of ale posset in the oven:  
I've brought your top-coat, do you know.  
For the rain's coming down very persistently  
And the hearth-stone's as white as new snow  
Come home to your children and me.
2. When I put little Sally to bed,  
She cried (be)cause here father wasn't there;  
So I kissed the little thing and I said,  
You'd bring her a ribbon from the fair;  
And I gave her a doll and some rags,  
And a nice little white cotton ball;  
And I kissed her again; but she said  
That she wanted to kiss you and all.
3. And Dick, too, I had such work with him  
Before I could get him up stairs;  
You told him, you'd bring him a drum,

ī sed wen īər sē-in iz prārz  
den ī lūkt i mi fēs ən i sed  
ast bogərts tēn aud ə mi dad  
ən ī krəid til iz īn wər kwəit red  
ī laiks dī som (sūm) wīl dez jon lad

4. ət lʊŋg lɛŋgʃ o git əm lēid stil  
ən ārknt fōks fīt ət went bæi  
so o əiərnt ȯ mi tlūəz rīt wīl  
ən o aŋgd əm oʃmēidn tə drəi  
wen od mendid dī stokinz ən šārts  
o sit dɛʊn tə nit i mi tšīər  
ən o rēli did fīl rēidər ər̄t  
mon om ōnli wen dɛʊ ārtnə dīər.

5. ov ə drom ən ə trompit fər Dik  
ov ə jār̄d ə blɛu ribin fər Sal  
or a buk ful ə babz ən ə stik  
ən som bakə ən pəips fər misél  
ov braut dī ə njū kap tə-dēi  
but o ȯləz bringz sumət fər dī  
ov braut dī som kofi ən tēi  
iv dɛl fīl i mi pokit, dɛl sī.

6. God bles dī mi lās; ol gə wom  
ən ol kis dī ən tšildər ȯ rɛund  
da nȯz əz wīərevər o rȯm  
om fēin tə get bak tə ʔaud grɛund  
okn dū wi ə krak ȯr ə dlās  
okn dū wi ə bit əv ə sprī  
but ov nȯ grēidli komfər̄t mi lās  
eksep wi jon tšildər ən dī.

---



He said when he was saying his prayers;  
Then he looked in my face and he said:  
Have the boggarts (evil spirits) taken hold of my dad?  
And he cried till his eyes were quite red,  
He likes you very well, does yon lad.

4. At the long length (= at last) I got them laid still  
And I hearkened (to) the folk's feet that went by;  
So I ironed all my clothes right well,  
And I hanged them on the maiden to dry;  
When I mended your stockings and shirts,  
I sat down to knit in my chair;  
And I really did feel rather hurt,  
Man, I am lonely when you are not there.
  5. I' ve a drum and a trumpet for Dick;  
I' ve a yard of blue ribbon for Sal,  
I' ve a book full of pictures and a stick  
And some tobacco and pipes for myself;  
I' ve brought you some coffee and tea,  
If you 'll feel in my pocket, you 'll see;  
And I've brought you a new cap to-day  
But I always bring something for thee (you).
  6. God bless you, my lass; I 'll go home,  
And I 'll kiss you and the children all round;  
You know that wherever I roam,  
I'm glad to get back to old ground;  
I can do with a crack (joke) over a glass,  
I can do with a bit of a spree;  
But I've no real comfort my lass,  
Except with yon children and thee (you).
-

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Note: The words appear in their NE. forms except when there is no word in lit. English corresponding to the dialect word in form; they are then printed in italics in the ME. form. The numbers refer to the pages on which the words occur.

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## Lebenslauf.

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Am 16. März 1867 wurde ich, Karl Georg Schilling, evangelischer Konfession, als Sohn des Schuldirektors Georg Wilhelm Schilling zu Altrincham in der Grafschaft Cheshire, England, geboren. Bis zu meinem 15. Jahre besuchte ich meines Vaters Schule, später ging ich nach der Manchester Grammar School. Im Jahre 1884 bezog ich das Aberystwyth College der Universität Wales und wurde im Jahre 1886 an der Universität London immatrikuliert. Im Jahre 1902 wurde ich als Lektor des Englischen an der Universität Giessen bestellt, wo ich zur Zeit tätig bin. Zu gleicher Zeit habe ich vom Oktober 1902 bis zum August 1905 an der Universität Giessen studiert. Vorlesungen habe ich während meiner Studienzeit besucht bei den verehrten Professoren und Dozenten Prof. Dr. O. Behaghel, Prof. Dr. Behrens, Prof. Dr. W. Horn, Lektor Goetschy und Lektor Thomas. Ihnen allen spreche ich an dieser Stelle meinen Dank aus. Zu ganz besonderem Dank bin ich Herrn Prof. Dr. W. Horn verpflichtet, der mich zu meiner Dissertation angeregt und mir stets mit seinem Rat zur Seite gestanden hat.



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